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THE LIFE AND LETTERS

OF

LADY ARABELLA STUART.

VOL. II.


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THE

LIFE AND LETTERS

OF

LADY ARABELLA STUART,

INCLUDING

NUMEROUS ORIGINAL AND UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS.

BY

ELIZABETH COOPER,

AUTHOR OF

"POPULAR HISTORY OF AMERICA."

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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CHAPTER I.

TRIAL OF RALEIGH.

THE close of the year 1603 was marked by one of the most scandalous State trials in history, and one that threatened danger to Arabella. This was the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh. When we look at the character of Raleigh—bold, enterprising, liberal, and chivalrous—and then at the mean, pedantic, contemptible James, we can scarcely imagine two men more utterly antagonistic. It is a remarkable fact that, even as the elective affinity will draw together two human beings who have no previous knowledge of each other, often without the medium of friends, so, on the other hand, a mutual disgust is felt without any tangible cause or outward action. This disgust is sometimes veiled beneath ceremony, or restrained by conscience, but its existence remains; and this repulsion certainly existed between Raleigh and the King. Cecil, though a far cleverer man than James, was less unlike him in soul; there-

fore, that he became a favourite on the accession is accountable, even without the secret correspondence into which he entered with the future heir before the death of his royal mistress. The same cause accounts for his antipathy to Raleigh, as well as his jealousy and envy of all his superior powers. On the journey of James into England, Cecil hastened to York to meet him, and there receiving the honour of knighthood, gave him a splendid entertainment at Theobalds, and entered London a triumphant favourite. Raleigh had also the intention of going to meet the King, but was prevented by a message from that monarch, "that he might spare his labour." Such a message was calculated to leave a lasting impression, and though Raleigh veiled his feelings beneath the courtier language used to princes, we may be sure it deepened the disgust already felt. Soon after the arrival of James in London, Raleigh was deprived of his office of Captain of the Guards and Warden of the Stannaries, and also of the monopoly of wines which he had enjoyed under Queen Elizabeth. But in recompense, he was granted a pension for life of 300*l.* per annum, and an arrear of debts struck off. This latter kindness, however, was a farce that was not to last long. As early as the month of July, Raleigh was charged with treasonable

practices against the Government. Commissioners were set to work to collect evidence, and on the 17th of November, 1603, his trial came on.

At this trial, Sir Walter Raleigh was accused of a plot to set Arabella Stuart on the throne. It was declared that Count Aremberg, the Austrian Ambassador, was to obtain 600,000 crowns to bring about the intended treason. Lord Cobham was to go to the Archduke Albert, to persuade him to advance the title of Arabella; and as the Archduke was not strong enough to give sufficient aid, Cobham was to pass on to Spain, to persuade the King of that country to join in the plan and aid it with his forces. Arabella was to be persuaded to write three letters—viz., one to the Archduke, a second to the King of Spain, and a third to the Duke of Saxony, in which she was to promise three things should they aid her successfully:—

1. To establish a firm peace between England and Spain.

2. To tolerate the Popish and Romish Religion.

3. To be ruled by her helpers and abettors in contracting her marriage.

This plot was imparted by Cobham to his brother, Lord Brooke, who agreed to join it; and in addition to this, the two brothers were said to

have uttered the impious words, "*that there never would be a goode worlde in England till the King* (*meaning our sovereign lord*) *and his cubbes* (*meaning his royal issue*) *were taken away.*" Also that Raleigh had written a book impugning the title of the King, and had given it to Cobham.

We have here only to allude to this famous trial as far as it concerns Arabella. Happier than Katherine Grey, she has escaped the imputation of being a party to the plot formed in her name in this instance. She was not accused or suspected at the time; and during the trial, she sat, with Lord Nottingham and other friends, as a simple spectator in the gallery. But when her name was mentioned, Cecil rose, and addressing the Court, said—

"Here hath been a touch of the Lady Arabella Stuart, the King's near kinswoman. Let us not scandal the innocent by confusion of speech. She is as innocent of all these things as I or any man here. Only she received a letter from my Lord Cobham, to prepare her, which she laughed at, and immediately sent it to the King." Lord Nottingham also rose and said, "The Lady doth here protest, upon her salvation, that she never dealt in any of these things, and so she willed me to tell the Court."*

* Lodge, iii.

Cecil then added that Lord Cobham wrote to Arabella to know if he might come and speak with her, and hinted that some about the Court were trying to get her into disgrace, but that she only looked upon this as a trick.

The Attorney-General also declared Arabella to be ignorant of the whole matter.

Two days after the trial, she writes to her Aunt Mary. The asterisks conceal some name, as well as some allusions probably to persons involved in the late affair, of which her uncle, Henry Cavendish, was one of the suspected parties.*

Lady Arabella Stuart to the Countess of Shrewsbury.†

"MADAME,—I humbly thank you for your * * * * expressed many ways, and latterly in the letter * * * * from you by my cousin Lacie's man. How defective * * * memory be in other ways, assure yourself, I cannot * * * even small matters concerning that great party, much less such great ones. I thank God I was acquainted with all. Therefore, when any great matter comes in question, rest secure, I beseech you, that I am not interested in it as an actor, how-

* Letter of Cecil to the Earl of Shrewsbury. Lodge, iii.

† Sloane MS., 4164, fol. 183.

soever the vanity of wicked men's vain designs have made my name pass through a press of a subtle lawyer's lips of late, to the exercise and increase of my patience and not their credit. I trust I have not lost so much of your good opinion as your pleasant postscript would make one that were suspicious of their assured friends (as I never was) believe. For if I should not prefer the reading of your kind and most welcome letters before all lower delights (I admit I delighted as much in them as others do) it were a sign of extreme folly; and liking court sports no better than I do, and than I think you think I do, I know you cannot think me so transformed as to esteem anything less than them, as your love and judgment together makes me hope you know I can like nor love nothing better than the love and kindness of so honorable friends as you and my uncle. Wherefore I beseech you let me hear often * * * * your love by the length and number of your letters. My * * * follies and ignorances will minister you sufficient matter for as many, also long letters, as you please, which I beseech you may be as many and as copious as may be without your trouble.

"I have satisfied the honorable gentlewoman without raising any expectation in her to receive

letters from you, which is a favour I desire only may be reserved still for myself, my Lord Cecil, and your best esteemed friends. I asked her advice for a new-year's gift for the Queen, both for myself, who am altogether unprovided, and a great lady, a friend of mine, that is in my care for that matter; and her answer was, the Queen regarded not the value, but the device. The gentlewoman neither liked gown nor petticoat so well as some little bunch of rubies to hang in her ear, or some such daft toy. I mean to give her Majesty two pair of gloves lined, if London afford me not some daft toy I like better, whereof I cannot bethink me. If I knew the value you would bestow, I think it were hard matter to get her or Mrs. Hartshide to understand the Queen's mind without knowing she asked it. The time is spent, and therefore you had need crave none of it. I am making the King a purse; and for all the world else, I am unprovided. This time will manifest my poverty more than all the rest of the year. But why should I be ashamed of it, when it is others' fault, and not in me? My quarter's allowance will not defray this one charge, I believe.

"Sir William Stuart continueth his charitable desire, but he cannot persuade me to lose my labour, how little soever he esteem his own to

so good an end, which I wish, but think not feasible, at least by me.

"Thus praying for the increase of your happiness every way, I humbly take leave.

"From Fulston the 8th of December, 1603.

"Your Ladyship's most affectionate niece to command,

"ARBELLA STUART."

On the same day she writes to her Uncle Gilbert:—

*Lady Arabella Stuart to the Earl of Shrewsbury.**

"It may please your Lordship to pardon me if writing now in haste with a mind distracted with several cares of a householder, and those that this remove and New Year's tide add thereto, I omit sometimes that which were perchance more material to write than that I write, and forget many things which, according to the manner of us, that have only afterwards come not to mind till your letters be gone, and then are too ancient news to be sent by the next. I received your Lordship's letter safely by Mrs. Nelson, and that *your* in my aunt's letter was plural, so that I meant I had received your

* Sloane MS., 4164, fol. 181.

Lordship's and hers, how ill soever I expressed it; I will amend my obscurity, God willing. Your Lordship taxeth my obscurity in the comment upon a part of some letter of mine you desired to have explained.' But whatever you took for the explanation of it, I am sure I sent you none, for I knew not then what it was you desired to have expounded. I pray you take not that *pro concesso* in general which is only proper to some monsters of our sex.

"I cannot deny so apparent a truth as that wickedness prevaileth with some of our sex, because I daily see some even of the fairest amongst us misled and willingly and wittingly ensnared by the prince of darkness. But yet ours shall still be the purer and more innocent kind. There went 10,000 virgins to heaven in one day. Look but in the Almanac, and you shall find that glorious day. And if you think there are some, but not many of us, that may prove saints, I hope you are deceived. But *not many rich, not many noble, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven.* So that riches and nobility are hindrances from heaven, as well as our native infirmity. You would think me very full of divinity, or desirous to shew that little I have, in both which you should do me wrong if you knew what business I have at Court, and yet preach to you.

Pardon me, it is not my function. Now a little more to the purpose.

"I have delivered your two patents signed and sealed by Mr. Hercy. If it be not an unexcusable presumption in me to tell you my mind unasked, as if I could advise you what to do, pardon me if I tell you, I think your thanks will come very unseasonably so near New year's-tide, especially those with which you send any gratuity. Therefore consider if it were not better to give your new year's gift *first* to the Queen and your thanks after, and keep Mrs. Fowler's till after that good time. New year's-tide will come every year, and be a yearly tribute to them you begin with. You may impute the slowness of your thankfulness to Mr. Hercy or me that acquainted you no sooner with your own matter.

"The Spanish Ambassador invited Madame Beaumont (the French Ambassador's lady) to dinner, requesting her to bring some English ladies with her. She brought my Lady Bedford, Lady Rich, Lady Susan (Vere), Lady Dorothy with her, and great cheer they had. A fortnight after, he invited the Duke (of Lennox), the Earl of Mar, and divers of that nation, requesting them to bring the Scotch ladies, for he was desirous to see some natural beauties. My

Lady Anne Hay and my cousin Drummond went, and after the sumptuous dinner, were presented, first, with two pairs of Spanish gloves apiece—and after, my cousin Drummond had a diamond ring of the value of two hundred crowns given her, and my Lady Anne a gold chain of little links twice about her neck sent her.

"Yesterday the Spanish Ambassador, the Florentine, and Madame de Beaumont, took their leave of the Queen till she come to Hampton Court.

"There is an Ambassador come from Polonia, and fain he would be gone again, because of the freezing of their seas, but he hath not yet had an audience.

"The Venetians lately sent two Ambassadors with letters both to the King and Queen. One of them is returned with a very honourable dispatch; but he staying but a few days, and the Queen being not well, he saw her not. The other stays here still.

"It is said the Turk hath sent a *Mahu* to the King. It is said the Pope will send a knight to the King in embassage. The Duke of Savoy's embassage is daily expected.

"But out of this confusion of embasssies, will you know how we spend our time on the Queen's side? Whilst I was at Winchester, there

were certain child plays remembered by the fair ladies—viz., 'I pray, my Lord, give me a course in your park.' 'Rise, pig, and go.' 'One penny follow me,' &c. And when I came to Court, they were as highly in request as ever cracking of nuts was. So I was, by the Mistress of the Revels, not only compelled to play at I know not what (for till that day I never heard of a play called Fier), but even persuaded, by the princely example, to play the child again. This exercise is mostly used from ten of the clock at night till two or three in the morning; but, that day I made one, it began at twilight and ended at supper time. There was an interlude; but not so ridiculous (ridiculous as it was) as my letter, which I here conclude, with many prayers to the Almighty for your happiness, and so humbly take my leave.

"From Fulston, the 8th of December, 1603.

"Your honoured niece,

"ARBELLA STUART."*

The following extract from a letter is given by Nichols:—

On the 18th of December, Lady Arabella

* The latter portion of this letter is printed in Nichols' "Progresses of King James."

wrote to the Earl from Hampton Court, that the Queen had arrived at that Palace on Friday, the 16th, and that "the King will be here to-morrow. The Polonian Ambassador shall have audience on Thursday next. The Queen intendeth to make a Mask this Christmas, to which end my Lady of Suffolk and my Lady Walsingham hath warrants to take of the late Queen's next apparel out of the Tower, at their discretion. Certain noblemen (whom I may not yet name to you, because some of them have made me of their counsel) intend another. Certain gentlemen of good sort, another. It is said there shall be 30 plays. The King will feast all the Ambassadors this Christmas. Sir John Hollis yesterday conveyed some new-come Ambassador to Richmond, and it was said (but uncertainly) to be a Muscovian."

A very curious letter of Earl Gilbert relating to Arabella occurs among the unpublished Talbot Papers. It is without date, and refers to a matter not alluded to in any other document. Possibly the trial of Raleigh may have given rise to the undefined gossip alluded to, or the old story of Arabella and Seymour may have been revived by the village scandal-monger. In the absence of a date, I have placed the letter at this period.

*The Earl of Shrewsbury to Sir Henry Pierrepoint, Justice of the Peace in Nottinghamshire.**

"After my very hearty commendations, &c. Whereas the right honorable the Lady Arbella did long since acquaint some of my lords of his Majesty's Privy Council with a letter from the hon. Sir John Byron, together with the examination and confession of Thomas Barton and Elizabeth his wife, and John Bagge and Edward Halle, the which here inclosed I send, whereby it appeareth the what true speeches were uttered by Christopher Sherston of Mansfield concerning the Lady. Their Lordships were then very forward to have written to you to have committed the said Sherston to the jail, there to have remained until the assizes, to the end that there he might have been severely punished by the judge; but her Ladyship, out of her honorable compassion, moved their Lordships so strict a course should not be held against him, whereupon it hath rested ever since until now, when because bruits and rumours of that sort amongst the common people are not fit to escape unpunished, proceeding from the vain humour and indiscretion of some base and ill-disposed persons, the same tending

* Unpublished Talbot Papers, MS., 86.

to the slander and scandal of a Lady of so great honour and quality, I am willed by some of their Lordships to will you to call before you the said Sherston, and those before whom he uttered those words and slanderous speeches, and upon proof thereof to cause him to be stocked and whipped in the town of Mansfield according to your good discretions; which you may do by your own authorities as justices of the peace, wishing you as much as you can to suppress the rumour, giving him good lessons to be wary never to commit the like again; and though it may perhaps prove that he heard such lewd speeches of some other, yet in uttering the same again openly in the alehouse (as it seems he did) he can no way be excusable. And so I will take my leave and commit you to the protection of the Almighty."

Banquets, masques, and receptions now consumed the time, to the great disgust of Cecil, who, writing to Gilbert, says: "We are now to feast seven Ambassadors, Spain, France, Poland, Florence and Savoy, besides Masques and much more, during which time I would with all my heart I were with that noble lady of yours by her turf fire." Arabella was doubtless of the same opinion. Notwithstanding the harshness

with which Queen Elizabeth had treated her, she did not join in the ridicule of the dead lioness, and was infinitely disgusted when the late Queen's wardrobe was brought from the Tower to furnish fancy dresses for the masque of Anne of Denmark.

The following letters occur at this period:—

*Lady Arabella Stuart to the Earl of Shrewsbury.**

"This bearer coming to me in such haste, as he can tell your Lordship, I only observe your commandment in scribbling never so little, never so ill, and reserve all I have to write of to your Lordship—that is, some Hardwick news. Such vanities as this place and holy time afford me till Emorye's return, by whom I have received a large essay of your Lordship's good cheer at Sheffield. I humbly thank you and my Aunt for it.

"Mr. Tunsted expected letters from your Lordship, and came once himself, and said he would send to my chamber often in adventure you should send them to me.

"And thus praying to the Almighty to send your Lordship so much increase of honour and happiness that you may confess yourself to be

* Sloane MS., 4164, fol. 186.

the King's happiest subject, I humbly take my leave.

"From Hampton Court, the 2nd of January, 1604. "Your Lordship's niece,

"ARBELLA STUART.

"I beseech you obtain my pardon of my Aunt for not writing to her at this time."

*Lady Arabella Stuart to the Earl of Shrewsbury.**

"This bearer having leave for a short time to visit the north, and giving me time sufficient to write the description of the three Masques, besides two plays played before the Prince, since my last advertisement of these serious affairs, I must beseech your Lordship to pardon the shortness of my letter, proceeding partly of the shortness of my wit, who at this instant remember no news but is either too great to be contained in weak paper, or vulgar, or such as, without detriment but of your Lordship's expectation, may tarry the next messenger.

"I have here enclosed sent your Lordship the Bishop of Winchester's† letter in answer to yours. I beseech you let me know what you writ, and what the answer concerning the party

* Sloane MS., 4164, fol. 187.

† Dr. Thomas Bilson.

in whose favour I craved your letter, that I may let the good Warden know as soon as may be.

"My Lady of Worcester* commendeth her as kindly to your Lordship as not to my Aunt, as you did yourself to her in her Ladyship's letter, and is as desirous to raise jealousy betwixt you two, as you are like to do betwixt them.

"Thus praying to the Almighty to send your Lordship infinite and perpetual honour and happiness, I humbly take my leave.

"From Hampton Court, the 10th of January, 1604.

"Your Lordship's niece,

"ARBELLA STUART."

Lady Arabella Stuart to the Earl of Shrewsbury.†

"I had almost tried whether your Lordship would have performed a good office betwixt two friends undesired; for I had forgotten to beseech you to excuse me to my Aunt for not writing to her at this time.

"I think I am asked every day of this new year, 7 times a day at least, when you come up,

* Elizabeth, wife of Edward, Earl of Worcester, and daughter of Francis, Earl of Huntingdon.

† Sloane MS., 4164, fol. 187.

and I have nothing to say but I cannot tell, which it is their pleasure to believe, and therefore, if you will not resolve them nor me of the truth, yet teach me what to answer them.

My Lord Cecil sent me a fair pair of bracelets this morning in requital of a trifle I presented him at new year's tide, which it pleased him to take as I meant it. I find him my very honorable friend both in word and deed. I pray you give him such thanks for me as he many ways deserves, and especially for this extraordinary and unexpected favour, whereby I perceive his Lordship reckoneth me in the number of his friends, for whom only such great persons as he reserve such favours.

"Thus praying for your Lordship's happiness, I humbly take my leave.

"From Hampton Court, the 11th of January, 1604.

"Your Lo. niece,

"ARBELLA STUART."

*Lady Arabella Stuart to the Countess of Shrewsbury.**

"MADAME,—I have sent my Uncle and you all the news that I had to write, so that for your less trouble and the sparing of my eyes till some other time, I beseech you let these few

* Sloane MS., 4164, fol. 187.

lines serve to testify to you both my obedience in writing by every messenger, though never so little. Thus praying for your increase of honor, comfort, and happiness, I humbly take my leave.

"From Hampton Court, the 21st of January, 1603.

"Your Ladyship's most affectionate niece to command, "ARBELLA STUART."

Arabella's office about the Queen was not yet appointed, the ladies "were of divers degrees of favour," but Arabella's was not yet decided. At this time her attention was called home by the height of the disputes between her old grandmother Bess and her uncle Gilbert. That Arabella was out of favour with her grandmother is proved by the cancelling of the legacy bequeathed to her in the last will of Bess, as well as by the following letters in which she appears as a mediator between the combatants:—

*Lady Arabella Stuart to the Earl of Shrewsbury.**

"Having sent this bearer with a letter to my aunt, and not your Lordship, with an intention to write to you at length by Mr. Cooke, I found so good hope of my grandmother's good inclination to a good and reasonable reconcilia-

* Sloane MS., 4164, fol. 188.

tion betwixt herself and her divided family, that I could not forbear to impart to your Lordship with all speed. Therefore I beseech you put on such a Christian and honorable mind as becometh you to bear to a lady so near to you and yours as my grandmother is. And think you cannot devise to do me a greater honour and contentment than to let me be the only mediator, moderator, and peace-maker betwixt you and her. You know I have cause only to be partial on your side, so many kindnesses and favours I have received from you, and so many unkindnesses and disgraces have I received from the other party. Yet will I not be restrained from chiding you (as great a Lord as you are) if I find you either not willing to be asken to this good notion or to proceed in it as I shall think reasonably. Consider what power you will give me over you in this, and take as great over me as you give me over you in this, in all matters but one, and in that your authority and persuasion shall as far exceed theirs as your kindness to me did in my trouble. If you think I have either discretion or good nature you may be sure you may refer much to me. If I be not sufficient for this treaty, never think me such as can add strength or honour to your family. But Mr. Cooke persuades me you think otherwise than so abjectly of me. And so praying the Almighty you may

take such a course both in this and all your other honorable designs as may with your best honour and contentment bring you to those good ends you wish, whatsoever they be, I humbly take my leave.

"From Hampton Court, the 3rd of February, 1603.

"I beseech you bring my Uncle Henry and my Aunt Grace* with you to London. They shall not long be troublesome to you, God willing: but because I know my Uncle hath some very great occasion to be about London for a little while, and is not well able to bear his own charges, nor I for him, as I would very willingly, if I were able, to so good an end as I know he comes to now. And therefore I beseech you, take that pains and trouble of bringing them up and keeping them awhile with you for my sake and our families' good. I have here enclosed sent you a letter to him, which if you will grant him this favour I require of you, I beseech you send him; if you will not, return it to me, and let him be not so much discomforted to see I am not able to obtain so much of you for him. In truth I am ashamed to trouble you with so many rude and (but for my sake, as you say) unwelcome requests;

* Daughter to George, Earl of Shrewsbury, and wife of Henry Cavendish.

but if you be weary of me, you may soon be dispatched of me for ever (as I am told) in more honourable sort than you may deny this my very earnest request."

To the misery of disputes were added those of inextricable money embarrassments, which were increased if not brought about by the constant lawsuits in which Earl Gilbert was involved by Bess. Strange partisanships were made; while the brothers of Gilbert were mostly so embittered against him that one sent him a challenge and was even suspected of an attempt to poison him. Two of the sons of Bess, Henry and Charles, were his friends. Arabella, too, was decidedly on his side: a fact which lost her all favour in the eyes of Bess, not unnaturally. The next letter refers to a loan which poor Gilbert was trying to raise, and gives a good account of Arabella's increasing influence at Court.

*Thomas Coke to the Earl of Shrewsbury.**

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR, I have written unto my Lord my whole proceeding with Sir George Hume, and have sent his letter signifying the conclusion of the bargain, yet limited so as if security be not given according to his

* Unpublished Talbot Papers, M. 182.

demand, and one sent from your honour within the time prefixed in his letter, he remaineth still with power to do what himself please (by such accurate measures must this be gained or lost). My good Lord Cecil seemeth little to approve the purchase. My Lady Arbella wished (at my last being with her) that your honour might lose the increasing of your debts by such a sum, but I having this day told her Ladyship that you have concluded for it, she saith she is heartily glad. I have this day attended her with your honour's letters (and directions, which her Ladyship hath seen me burn), and concerning that whole matter I have not found but that she hath been even from the beginning very nobly resolved for Sir Charles. It is true that as I marvelled somewhat at the fulness of the reconciliation, upon some ground of affection (which notwithstanding is now almost exhaled), so I much feared what issue the course which her Ladyship in this would have. For I observed that she wrestled extraordinarily with my Lord D., Sr G. H. & Sr R. Ashton for access to the K., and betwixt jest & earnest, rather extorted the same from them by fear, than obtained it by kindness, and having obtained speech with his Majesty, and I after attending her, her Ladyship reserved herself (for from the beginning her Ladyship hath refused to de-

clare to any of them, or whether this or some greater matter were that which caused her desire to speak with the K.) in such sort as that all that she vouchsafed to intrust unto me, was that she was in the King's good favour and trusted by him, that she doubted not but you should all find the fruits thereof, but (to my remembrance) said she had not then moved his Majesty in that point which most I desired should have been moved, though the hope of obtaining was not so likely, as the purpose to *brauste* their designs. But this day her Ladyship saith plainly that the K. hath been moved and yielded unto her desire, and that she hath entreated his Majesty that in case he shall think it more fit for himself to take the honours of nominating the party than to refer it to her, yet he will be pleased to take notice of her desire therein, which is absolutely for her uncle Charles, whereunto (she saith) his Majesty hath condescended, and she is to have the same specified under his royal hand at his return from Royston, which is thought will be about 4 days hence. Although I must confess that this Lady permitteth me to treat with her with much less awe than I find in myself when I attend some others, yet doth the respect due to such a person prevail with me so as that in many things which fall from her, good manners

lead me rather to rest unsatisfied than to interrupt her unseasonably, which is the cause why I cannot ascertain, your honour, whether this motion were made by herself to his Majesty when she attended him, or by some other. For although by all the speech of this day there is nothing to the contrary, yet her Ladyship's former relation of her speeches with the King, though never so restrained, make me something to doubt. Only I doubt not at all but that she is resolute to do her uttermost endeavour, and sayeth that when you refer things to her own discretion she will pretermit no care that may give furtherance to the same, but when you send her directions she will absolutely follow them. As, at the King's return, she purposeth to solicit by letter this said suit in case she finds it not needless, and for that end hath commanded me to draw a letter to such effect,—whereof I shall not fail except her Ladyship find that staying only one day for your honour's present advice may bring no hindrance to the business concerning the *papers* under her own hand. She assureth you confidently that they have no title whereof his Majesty hath not a copy, and which will be more dangerous for them to have misconceived of than for her Ladyship to have misled unto them, that their kindness, but not their threats, could move

him. I made a solemn complaint unto her Ladyship against Travers, for that he had abused her Ladyship in entertaining her with a motion of reconciliation, whilst in the very same instant a motion was secretly procured for proceeding in the matter of £4000, as indeed it was and had been prejudicial if your honour's people that attend that business had not been careful to redress the same. But now the errors are (as I take it) allowed to be proceeded in, and so their advantage is where it was. My Lady Arbella but this answered: that my Lord should get more than this £4000 of her that sueth, and that your honour and the Lady Arbella should have business enough (perhaps) to keep them out of a worse place than that was, and where Mr. Ormeston visited Mr. Hamond, and what end this day's speech with her honour will sort, God knoweth, but surely she seemeth to have mastered them all that limited her before. She hath preferred her complaints to his Majesty's ear, that she can hardly think herself secure in case she may not have means to speak to his Majesty without such exceeding endeavour as she had now been constrained to use, whereupon Sir R. received (saith she, an extraordinary check) and her Ladyship hath mean hereafter to speak with him when she please. Sir H. Ed. saith

there is a design to make my Lord Treasurer, Lord Howard, Lord Cecil and Sir G. Howme a baron. I have not yet found Mr. Miller, but delivered your honour's letter to Mr. Hercy by reason of my going this day to my Lady Arbella to the end he may deliver it, but hear nothing as yet. Mr. Hercy 'seemeth yet betwixt 2 streams, for my Lord's book being 95 years purchase and affording exceeding mean opportunities every way, he hath been persuaded to give ear to a motion of buying Sir H. Bromley's book at 65 years' price and days and all other opportunities more indifferent, whereof he is to give answer upon Tuesday, but he will do his best to entertain so much of both as may be till your honour's coming up; and although I see no fear of both, yet books and sales are so ordinary as maketh me fear the less. My Lady Arbella desireth that your hon. will be pleased that she may have a room here at Broad-street, for although she be most resolute not to *bouge* from the Court, yet may she have many occasions of such a room. I never saw her more cheerful than this day she is. Her Ladyship told me of some aiguilettes which she had bespoke for my Lady Mary for the Queen, which to my remembrance her Ladyship said if you misliked she would herself use them. Sir G. Howme is

contented that your counsel shall see his book, but I shall be distracted much therein, Mr. Crewe being so full of business, and so resolute not to stay in town as I hear he is. To-morrow I intend to wait on that business. And so most humbly craving pardon, I beseech Almighty God to preserve your Lordship for ever.

"From Bradstreet, 12th of February, 1603.

"Your Lordship's," &c.

The next letter is undated as to the month, but probably written in February.

Another office had now been found for Arabella, that of carver to the Queen: a privilege that immediately gave rise to jealousy and evil-speaking. No harm, however, was done to her favour with the Queen. In the procession through the City, which followed shortly after, we find Arabella riding on a crimson-velvet caparisoned horse, next the Queen, and followed by the Countess of Shrewsbury, who was only separated from her niece by two other ladies, who took precedence. Arabella's debts were increasing, and Earl Gilbert, deep in money difficulties, was totally unable to help his niece. At this moment, his jewels and plate were in pawn, his door was besieged by creditors, and though a Privy Councillor, there was "nothing done by the

Earl in Parliament, nor like to be."* The summer passed in royal progresses and hunting.

Lady Arabella Stuart to the Earl of Shrewsbury.†

"I humbly thank your Lordship for sparing me never so few words in the time of your taking physic, which I would not should have been more for doing you harm in holding down your head at such a time, but when you are well I hope to receive some Hardwick news, which unless your Lordship be a great deal briefer than that plentiful argument requireth, will cost you a long letter.

"My Aunt findeth fault with my brevity, as I think by your Lordship's commandment, for I know she in her wisdom respecteth ceremony so little that she would not care in time of health for hearing from me every week that I am well and nothing else. And I know her likewise to will to make that the cause of her offence, suppose in policy she should think good to seem to be offended with me, whom perchance you now think good to shake off as weary of the alliance. But I conclude your Lordship hath a quarrel to me and maketh my aunt take it upon her and that is (for other can you justly have none) that

* Hunter's "Sheffield," p. 93.
† Sloane MS., 4164, fol. 188.

you have never a letter of mine since your going down to make you merry at your few spare hours, which if it be so, your Lordship may command me in plain terms and deserve it by doing the like, and I shall as willingly play the fool for your recreation as ever. I assure myself, my Lord Cecil, my Lord Pembroke, your honorable new ally and divers of your old acquaintance, write your Lordship all the news of * * that is stirring, so that I will only impart * * trifles to your Lordship at this time as concerning myself.

"After I had carved, the Queen never dined out of her bed-chamber, nor was attended by any but her Chamberers, till my Lady of Bedford's return. I doubted my unhandsome carving had been the cause thereof, but her Majesty took my endeavour in good part, and with better words than that beginning deserved put me out of that error. At length (for now I am called to the sermon, I must hasten to an end) it fell out that the importunity of certain great Ladies in that or some other suit of the like kind had done me this disgrace; whom should I hear named for one but my aunt of Shrewsbury, who, they say at the same time, stood to be the Queen's Cupbearer. If I could have been persuaded to believe, or seem to believe, that whereof I know the contrary, I might have

been thrown down to my face that I was of her counsel therein; that I deeply dissembled with my friends when I protested the contrary, for I was heard to confer with her (they say) to that purpose. But these people do little know how circumspect my Aunt and your Lordship are with me. I humbly thank you for the example.

"I hear the marriage betwixt my Lord of Pembroke and my Cousin is broken, whereat some time I laugh, otherwhiles I am angry; sometimes answer soberly as though I thought it possible, according as it is spoken in simple earnest, scorn, policy, or however, at the least, I conceive it to be spoken. And your Lordship's secrecy is the cause of this variety (whereby some conjecture that I know something), because I have no certain direction what to say in that case. I was asked within these 3 days whether your Lordship would be here within 10 days; unto which (to me) strange question I made so strange an answer, as I am sure either your Lordship or I are counted great dissemblers. I am none; quit yourself as you may. But I would be very glad you were here, that I need not chide you by letter, as I must needs do if I be chidden either for the shortness, rareness, or preciseness of my letters, which by your former racks I might think a fault, by your

late example a wisdom. I pray you reconcile your deeds and words together, and I shall follow that course herein which your Lordship best allows. In the mean time, I have applied myself to your Lordship's former liking and the plainness of my own disposition. And so praying for your Lordship's health, honour, and happiness, I humbly take my leave.

"From Whitehall.

"Your Lordship's niece,

"ARBELLA STUART."

Indorsed, 1604.

*Lady Arabella Stuart to the Countess of Shrewsbury.**

"MADAM,—I was very glad to receive your letter and my Uncle's from that party which delivered them to me, with some news, which I am very glad of, and pray God to send you Ladyship and my Uncle as much joy thereof as yourselves desire. Mr. Cooke and your Ladyship's red deer shall be very welcome, or any messenger or token whereby I may understand of your well being and the continuance of your affection to one who will remain

"Your Ladyship's niece to command,

"ARBELLA STUART."

Indorsed, 3 Oct., 1604.

* Sloane MS., 4164.

*Lady Arabella Stuart to the Earl of Shrewsbury.**

"I humbly thank your Lordship and my Aunt for the six very good red deer pies I have ceived from your Lordship by Mr. Hercy. My Aunt's thanks, which I received for my plain dealing with Mr. Booth, and the few lines I received last from you and my Aunt by Mr. Hercy, have relation to certain commissions and promises, as well on your Lordship's part as mine, and therefore your Lordship's confidence of my conditional promise resteth not in me only. I assure myself you are so honorable, and I so dear unto you, that you will respect as well what is convenient for me as what you earnestly desire, especially my estate being so uncertain and subject to injury, as it is. Your Lordship shall find me constantly persevere in a desire to do that which may be acceptable to you and my Aunt, not altogether neglecting myself. And so I humbly take my leave, praying for your happiness.

"From Whitehall, the 18th of October, 1604.

"Your Lordship's niece,

"ARBELLA STUART."

Arabella was never in higher favour than this year—never of so high importance in the eyes of others. James had cast off all suspicion, and

* Sloane MS., 4164.

her influence was supposed to be potent in gaining his favour. On the 4th of July, William Cavendish writes to Bess, "His Majesty four days since hath been moved by my Lady Arbell for me, who promiseth, as afore, at the next call, which is thought will be at Michaelmas time, at the next session of Parliament." New schemes of marriage arose, all of which were utterly distasteful to her. Count Maurice and the Prince Anhalt sounded her sentiments by means of a third party. The latter went so far as to pen letters in Latin, perhaps as a proof of his scholarship, "yet shee nothinge lyketh his letters nor his Latin."* The King of Poland had even sent his Marshal formally to demand her hand, but without consulting his cousin, a peremptory refusal was given by James. The last suitor mentioned this year is Duke Ulric of Holstein, brother to the Queen. Lord Lumley speaks of him as "not very rich any way. He is said to be a comely man. He lodgeth in Court, in my Lord Treasurer's lodging, and his company in my Lady of Derby's house in Cannon Row. He hath twenty dishes of meat allowed every meal, and certain of the guard appointed to attend him forthwith."

All, however, fails. Reading, "lectures," hearing of service and preaching, form the chief

* Lodge, iii. 236.

employment of Arabella Stuart. "She will not hear of marriage."

The following letter from the Earl of Pembroke, dated on the same day as that of Fowler, in which he declares her aversion to marriage, shows that there were still hopes on the subject. The probability is that Arabella was not for a moment consulted on the subject. James would not dream of her marriage to a foreign prince, who might at any time assert that claim to the Crown that had been the bugbear of his life, and Arabella had reasons of her own for not being anxious on the subject.

To this date also probably belongs the second letter. The King now went to Royston to hunt, and thither the Queen, who was almost equally enamoured of the chase, frequently followed him, to the disgust of the courtiers, the maids of honour, and the country people, all of whom were put to great expense and weary, wasteful hours by this infatuation. "I think," says the Earl of Worcester, "since my departure from London I have not had two hours of twenty-four of rest but Sundays, for in the morning we are on horseback by eight, and so continue in full career from the death of one hare to another, until four at night, then, for the most part, we are five miles from home; by that time I find at my lodging, sometimes one, most commonly two

packets of letters, all which must be answered before I sleep, for here is none of the Council but myself, no, not a Clerk of the Council nor Privy Signet, so that an ordinary warrant for post-horse must pass my own hand, my own secretary being sick at London."

Certainly not an enviable picture of the life of a courtier.

The poor people were not more fortunate; but not daring to complain openly, they took the following original method of expressing their grievance:—

"There was one of the King's special hounds, called Jowler, missing one day. The King was much displeased that he was wanted; notwithstanding, went a-hunting. The next day when they were on the field, Jowler came in amongst the rest of them; the King was told of him, and was very glad, and, looking on him, spied a paper about his neck, and in the paper was written, 'Good Mr. Jowler, we pray you speak to the King (for he hears you every day, and so doth he not us) that it will please his Majesty to go back to London, for else the country will be undone; all our provision is spent already, and we are not able to entertain him longer.' It was taken for a jest, however, and had no effect in hastening the departure of his Majesty."

As we see by her letter, Arabella was not

spared in the hunting parties, but she certainly must have managed to put a good face on her dislike, and maintain the favour of James, for in the Docquet Book for 1604, December 8th, we find the following entry:—

"A Pençon of 1000li. paid for the La. Arbella for terme of her life without restraint from alienaçon."*

The following letters bring to a close the year 1604:—

William, Earl of Pembroke, to Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury.†

"My Lord,—I have myself delivered and sent whither they were directed all the letters that were enclosed in the packet, and now, though I have little or nothing to trouble your Lordship with, yet I will not suffer so convenient a messenger to pass without the presenting of my service unto you.

"All the news there is that a great Ambassador is coming from the King of Poland, and his chief errand is to demand my Lady Arbella in marriage for his master. So may our princess of the blood grow a great Queen, and then we shall be safe from the danger of mis-superscribing letters.

* State Papers, Docquet, Dec. 8, 1604.

† Sloane MS., 4161.

"I shall see your Lordship myself ere it be many weeks, and therefore at this time I will humbly take my leave, remaining ever

"Your Lordship's most affectionate

"Son to serve you,

"PEMBROKE.

"You must pardon my short writing, for I am half drunk to-night.

"Hampton Court, this 3rd of October" (1604?)

Lady Arabella Stuart to the Countess of Shrewsbury. (Undated.)*

"MADAME,—This everlasting hunting, the tooth-ache, and the continual means by my Lord Cecil to send to you, makes me only write these few lines to show I am not unmindful of your commandments, and reserve the rest I have to write both to you and my Uncle some few hours longer, till my pain assuage and I have given my never intermitted attendance on the Queen, who daily extendeth her favours more and more towards me. The Almighty send you and my Uncle all prosperity, and keep me still, I beseech you, in your good opinion, who will ever remain

"Your Ladyship's niece to command,

"ARBELLA STUART."

* Sloane MS., 4164.

Lady Arabella Stuart to the Countess of Shrewsbury.

"MADAME,—I received your Ladyship's letter by your old servant David three days ago, & his desire being I should speak to some of the Council in his behalf, and he knowing he had brought a letter of recommendation to me, lest he should think me disobedient to you who willed me to do what I could for him, I offered to speak to the Duke of Lennox in his behalf, who is the only Councillor, now my Uncle is away, that I will move in any suit. But I told him it would be to so little purpose, that though at that present he seemed to desire his furtherance, I have not seen him since, and so, upon consideration, I think he takes the right way, and will spare that needless labour of mine to speak to one for him that can do him little good. But whether I shall see David any more before his return to you or not, I know not, and therefore Mr. Hercy having left his packet of letters with me to be sent by the first sure messenger I could hear of, I have rather made bold with this bearer, as he can tell you, than either stay it for Mr. Hercy, sith it requireth haste, or rely on the uncertainty of your servant.

* Sloane MS., 4164, fol. 185.

"The Polonian Ambassador had audience to-day. Other news here is none that I know, and therefore I beseech you make my excuse to my Uncle, that I write not to him in this busy time and scarcity of occurrences.

"And praying the Almighty to send you both all happiness, I humbly take my leave.

"From Hampton Court, the 22nd December.

"Your Ladyship's most affectionate niece to command, "ARBELLA STUART.

"Mr. Hercy sent a packet by post, wherein I writ to my Uncle and you in answer to those I received from you by my Cousin Lacie's man. I beseech you let me know if you received them safe. If I had thought they should have been sent by post, I would have written more reservedly."

*Lady Arabella Stuart to the Earl of Shrewsbury.**

"I have sent sooner than I had time to write to your Lordship of anything here, and yet not so soon but I am sure I am already condemned by your Lordship and my Aunt, either for slothful or proud, or both, because I writ not by the very first who went down after I received

* Sloane MS., 4164.

your letters. So I have fully satisfied neither your Lordship nor myself, and yet performed a due respect to a very honorable friend, whose honour and happiness I shall ever rejoice at, and think my own misfortunes the less if I may see my wishes for your Lordship's and my Aunt's permanent, happy, and great fortune take effect. And so I humbly take my leave.

"From Whitehall, the 24th of December, 1604.

"Your Lordship's niece,

"Arbella Stuart.

"Though I have written your Lordship no news, I have sent you here inclosed very good store from Mr. Secretary Fowler. My old good spy Mr. James Morray desireth his service may be remembered to your Lordship and my Aunt, but if I should write every tenth word of his, wherein he wisheth you more good than is to be expressed at Court on a Christmas Eve, you would rather think this scribbled paper a short text with a long comment underwritten, than a letter with a postscript."

CHAPTER II.

ARABELLA AT COURT.

THE year 1605 shows a remarkable change in one matter, at least, in favour of the courtiers.

Dudley Carleton says:—"New Year's Day passed without any solemnity, and the exorbitant gifts that were wont to be used at that time are so far laid by, that the accustomed present of the purse of gold was hard to be had without asking." Doubtless, Arabella was not one of the least rejoiced, as the New Year's gifts were always a burden on her purse.

On Twelfth Night was presented Ben Jonson's celebrated Masque of Blackness. Arabella's name is not mentioned among the ladies, and it is the first great festival at which we find her absent. Her admirer, the Duke of Holstein, proved himself there, however, a lusty reveller, and was in such favour with James as to receive first £1000 as a present, and £100 a week to pay expenses, and

shortly after £4000 as a free gift; and this was followed by the order of the Garter. We next find him appointed sponsor to the Princess Mary, in conjunction with Arabella; and it was on this occasion that Sir William Cavendish was hopeful to obtain his barony at the instance of Arabella; and here for the first time we encounter her in a sordid and unamiable light—if we may trust the following extract from a letter of Mr. Lascelles to Earl Gilbert:—

"Mr. Candish is at London; comes to the Court, and waits hard on my Lady Arabella for his Barony; but I am confidently assured that he will not prevail, for I understand that my Lady Arabella is nothing forward in his business, although we be certainly that my Lady hath a promise of the King for one of her Uncles to be a Baron; but it is not likely to be Mr. William, for he is very sparing in his gratuity, as I hear; would be glad it were done, but would be sorry to part with anything for the doing of it; and I think he will find in this place an equal proportion betwixt his liberality and our courtesy. His chief solicitor to my Lady Arabella is Sir William Bagot. I was with Mr. Candish at my Lady Arabella's chamber, and he entreated me to speak to my Lady Bedford to further him, and to solicit my Lady Arabella in his behalf, but spoke nothing

of anything that might move her to spend her breath for him; so that, by the grace of God, he is likely to come to good speed."*

As William Cavendish was made Baron Cavendish of Hardwick on the day he desired, we must either conclude that he gave the desired consideration, or that the above is a slander on Arabella.

Fowler had not been able to work any good for the unfortunate people of Royston. Two days after Twelfth Night, the King returned to that beloved spot, from whence he wrote to his Council that hunting was the only means to preserve his health, which being the health and welfare of all Englishmen, he desired the Council to take the charge and burden of affairs, and *foresee that he were not interrupted or troubled with too much business.*† Though he hated the people at large, causing them to look back woefully "to that generous affabilitye which their good old Queen did afford them,"‡ yet he would admit any one to his presence before whom he had a chance of exhibiting those excellencies on which he specially prided himself. At this time he granted an interview to Sir John Harrington, who thus recounts it:—

* Lodge, iii. † Chamberlayne's "Letters."
‡ Letter of Thomas Wilson; Nichols, i. p. 188.

"He enquyrede muche of lernynge, and showed me his vane in suche sorte as made me remember my examiner at Cambridge aforetyme. He sought muche to knowe my advances in Philosophie and utter profound sentences of Aristotle, and such lyke wryters, which I had never reade, and whiche some are bolde enough to saye others doe not understand; but this I must pass by. The Prince did nowe presse my readinge to him parte of a canto in Ariosto, praysede my utterance, and said he had been informede of manie, as to my lernynge, in the tyme of the Queene. He asked me, 'What I thought pure witte was made of, and whom it did best become? Whether a Kynge should not be the best clerke in his owne countrie, *and if this lande did not entertayne good opinion of his lernynge and good wisdome.*'

"We nexte discoursede somewhat on religion, when at lengthe he saide, 'Now, sir, you have seene my wisdome in some sorte, and I have pried into yours. I praye you do me justice in your reporte; and in good season I will not fail to add to your understandinge in suche pointe as I may finde you lacke amendmente.' I made courtesie hereat and withdrewe downe the passage and out at the gate, amidst the manie varlets and lordlie servantes who stood arounde."

Shortly after this, his Majesty went to Thet-

ford, where, unluckily for the people, he found good hunting. Says the Earl of Worcester, "He liketh exceeding well of the country, and is resolved for certain to stay there five days in this town. He hath been but once abroad a hunting since his coming hither, and that day he was driven out of the field with press of company which came to see him; but therein he took no great delight, therefore came home, and played at cards. Sir William Woodhouse, that is sole director of these parts, hath devised a proclamation that none shall presume to come to him on hunting days; but those that come to see him, or prefer petitions, shall do it going forth or coming home."*

That justice should have been at a low ebb with a King like this and courtiers who flattered "the sweetnes of his nature and disposition," and were overwhelmed with anxiety when his Majesty caught a "cowlde," is not surprising. Robberies were constantly perpetrated even at Court, without any legal attempt to capture the thief, who escaped safely with his booty. The only people of moral courage enough openly to censure the present state of things were actors, who, says a writer of the day, "do not forbear to represent upon their

* Lodge, iii.; Nichols, i. p. 500.

Stage the whole course of the present time, not sparing either King, State, or Religion, in so great absurdity and with so much liberty that any would be afraid to hear them."*

During this time Arabella was called into the country by a report that her grandmother was ill. Being rather afraid of encountering that aged vixen alone at Chatsworth, she got a letter from the King, who wrote to Bess, begging her to receive her granddaughter with the same kindness and continue her former bounty and love to her.

Bess had a paid spy near the King in the person of the Dean of the royal chapel. "I were much to blame," says that reverend gentleman, "if I should neglect anything that concerned her, for I have not known her yet a year, and she has already bestowed on me above three hundred pounds."† The Dean was now in attendance upon the King at Thetford, when he was overwhelmed with the mournful news that overspread London, that the old Countess was dead and his presents at an end. Five days later, he received a letter from Bess, in which she stated herself to be not only alive but well. Her letter, though written to the Dean, was meant for the eye of the King, as she privately

* Winwood, ii.

† Letter of Lascelles to the Earl of Shrewsbury.—Unpub. Talbot Pap., L. vii.

informed the Dean in a second letter accompanying the first. In the first letter she expressed her surprise at the King's message, saying that "it was very strange to her that my Lady Arbella should come to her with a recommendation as either doubting of her entertainment or desiring to come to her from whom she had desired so earnestly to come away. That for her part she thought she had sufficiently expressed her good meaning and kindness to her that had purchased her *seven hundred pounds by year Land of inheritance, and given her as much money as would buy a hundred pound by year more.* And though for her part she had done very well for her according to her poor ability, yet she should be always welcome to her, though she had divers grandchildren that stood more in need than she, and *much the more welcome* in respect of the King's recommendation; she had bestowed on Arabella a cup of gold worth a hundred pound, and three hundred pound in money which deserved thankfulness very well, considering her poor ability." To this Bess added a minute calendar of every trivial movement of Arabella during her stay at Hardwick.

James read this letter with a smile, which was probably reported to Bess by the faithful Dean, and did not add to her kind feelings towards Arabella, who maintained her influence with the King.

On the 5th of May, Arabella was summoned to the christening of her royal god-daughter at Greenwich, which was celebrated with great splendour.

Wherever the procession passed, the walk was railed in and hung at each side with broad cloth. The little princess was brought through the state apartments of Greenwich Palace into the Conduit Court, where she was placed under a canopy borne by eight barons. Before the canopy marched the officers of arms, the bishops, barons, and earls; next came the Earl of Northumberland with a covered gilt basin, and after him the Countess of Worcester, bearing a cushion covered with lawn and adorned with precious jewels. The Countess of Derby carried the child under the canopy, the train of the little princess being borne by "two of the greatest countesses." On each side of the princess walked her two godfathers, the Duke of Lennox and the Duke of Holstein, the lover of Arabella, while the two godmothers, the Lady Arabella and the Countess of Northumberland, walked immediately behind the princess, followed by a train of the noblest ladies in the land.

At the entrance to the chapel stood the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Deans of Canterbury and Greenwich, all in rich copes, and as the child was brought into the building, the choir burst

forth into an anthem; the lords taking their places in one side of the stalls, and the ladies in the other. The procession then advanced to the middle of the choir, where under a canopy of cloth of gold stood the "rich and stately font of silver and gilt, most curiously wrought with figures of beastes, serpents, and other antycke workes." The ceremony being performed according to the rites of the Church of England, the child was carried back to the traverse of the chapel, and the godfathers and godmothers made their offerings, which were received by the Lord Almoner, Bishop of Chichester. Garter King of Arms then proclaimed the style of the Princess Mary, and wine and confections ended the ceremony. The train then returned to the palace, six earls bearing the christening gifts.

This year occurs the first trace we have of the friendship between Arabella and her cousin, Prince Henry.

"The Lady Arbella Stuart," says Birch, "was not less dear to Prince Henry for her near relation to him than for her accomplishments of mind, both natural and acquired; and therefore he took all occasions of obliging her. In consequence of this, and of the success of her recommendations of a kinsman of hers to his Highness, she wrote him, on the 18th of October, the following letter,

which is given entire, as one of the few remains of that illustrious but unfortunate lady :"*

The Lady Arabella Stuart to Prince Henry.†

"My intention to attend your Highness to-morrow, God willing, cannot stay me from acknowledging by these few lines how infinitely I am bound to your Highness for that your gracious disposition towards me, which faileth not to show itself upon every occasion, whether accidental or begged by me, as this late high favour and grace, it hath pleased your Highness to do my kinsman at my humble suit. I trust, to-morrow, to let your Highness understand such motives of that my presumption as shall make it excusable. For your Highness shall perceive I both understand with what extraordinary respect suits are to be presented to your Highness, and withal that your goodness doth so temper your greatness as it encourageth both me and many others to hope that we may taste the fruit of the one by means of the other. The Almighty make your Highness every way such as I, Mr. Newton, and Sir David Murray (the only intercessors I have used in my suits, or will in any I shall present to your Highness) wish you, and then shall you be even such

* Birch's "Life of Prince Henry." † Ibid.

as you are, and your growth in virtue and grace with God and men shall be the only alteration we will pray for. And so in all humility I cease.

"From London, the 18th of October, 1605.

"Your Highness' most humble and dutiful

"ARBELLA STUART."

The King had probably signified his deep displeasure at the inclination of the nobles to shake off the customary tax of New Year's gifts, for we find a liberal roll for the New Year of 1606, and among the rest the Earl of Shrewsbury is put down for £20 to the King in gold, receiving in return gilt plate weighing 31 oz., the Countess of Shrewsbury gives £10 and receives from the King gilt plate weighing 17 oz., but Arabella neither gives nor receives. Her purse was probably exhausted at the christening.

Among other curious gifts to the King may be noted this year:

By Dr. Craig—One marchpane and four boxes of dry confections.

By Dr. Hamond—One pot of green ginger.

By Robert Baker—A bottle of the water of hartshorn.

By Robert Erskin—a night-cap of tawny velvet, embroidered with Venice gold and silk.

By Dorothy Speckard—One shirt of fine Holland; the band and cuffs of cut work.

On the 17th of July, 1606, the brother of the Queen, King Christian IV. of Denmark, arrived on a visit to his sister and brother-in-law. The most outrageous extravagance and gluttony celebrated his arrival. At the Court banquets all reserve was thrown off, and the scenes of the lowest taverns were enacted at the Court of England. Queen Anne was in retirement at Greenwich, where her brother visited her, and here probably made the acquaintance of Arabella Stuart, whose graces and accomplishments completely won the admiration of the jolly monarch, who might hardly have been supposed to be attracted to Arabella, who was certainly more charming from the graces of her mind than person. At the leave-taking, a misunderstanding took place between the King of Denmark and the Lady Nottingham, wife of the Lord High Admiral of England, who had the command of the ship that was to take King James and the Queen back to Woolwich. The King of Denmark understood no English, the Admiral no Danish, and the consequence was, that, in the endeavour to speak by signs, a gross insult was understood to be offered by Christian to the Admiral's wife. Nottingham was silent at the time, but when they got home, his lady wrote a violent letter to Sir

Andrew Sinclair, one of Christian's confidential servants, which so alarmed the King of Denmark that, anxious for his credit in England, he made an appeal to Arabella Stuart as a witness that his conduct had been entirely becoming to the lady in question.

The following letters illustrate the friendly feeling between Arabella and the Court of Denmark:—

*Lady Arabella Stuart to Sir Andrew Sinclair.**

"My honorable good Friend,—I yield his Majesty most humble thanks that it pleaseth him to add that advertisement I received from you yesternight to the rest of the favours wherewith it hath pleased his Majesty to honour me, and I pray you assure his Majesty that next unto that I shall spend in prayers for his Majesty's prosperity, I shall think that breath of mine best bestowed which may add, if it be but a drop, to the sea of his honour. I have observed his Majesty's behaviour as diligently as any, and I may truly protest I never saw nor heard that deed or word of his which did not deserve high praise, whereof I shall bear witness, I doubt not with many more, for I assure you it is not possible for a Prince to leave a more honourable memory than his Majesty

* Harl. MS. 7003.

hath done here. And if any speak or understand it otherwise, it must proceed from their unworthiness, and be esteemed as a shadow of envy which infallibly accompanies the brightness of virtue. I spent yesterday at London, and have not yet seen the Queen's Majesty since her sorrowful returning hither, but I am assured myself her Majesty will perform all the offices of a kind sister to her most dear and worthy brother, in which cause I think myself happy to have a part. I beseech his Majesty this indiscretion of my Lady of Nottingham may not impair his good opinion of our sex, but that it will please him to retain the innocent in his wonted favour, and especially myself, who will not fail to pray for his safe and happy return with all other daily increasing felicities, and remaining

"Your assured, thankful friend,

"A. S.

"To my honorable good friend,
Sir Andrew Sinclair."

Lady Arabella Stuart to Sir Andrew Sinclair.
(*No date.*)*

"MY HONORABLE GOOD FRIEND,—I yield both their Majesties most humble thanks for their

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 48.

gracious favours, and have presumed to do so by letters to themselves, which I must account one of their special graces, that it pleaseth them to license me to do so, for by the patronage of so worthy a Prince, so interested in them of whom my fortune depends, and so graciously affected to me, I cannot doubt but at last to come to some such story as shall give me perpetual cause to pray for his Majesty, whose gracious favour, so many ways expressed, is of itself an especial comfort and honour to me. And you, my honorable friend, by whose good means I enjoy this happiness, I can but acknowledge myself your debtor till God make me able better to express my thankfulness, as I doubt not, by God's grace, but I shall be made by your good endeavours, and the mediation of your most gracious Majesty, whose good favour of itself is so highly and duly esteemed by me, that I hold myself so thoroughly appaied therewith, as I should desire no more but the preservation of it, but that I perceive, by your letters, virtue is of itself delighted to do good, and the neglect of offered bounty would deprive them of the honour and contentment they receive in well-doing. Therefore, when the first opportunity is offered that I may request your favour to come hither, accompanied with his Majesty's gracious letters, upon any good and hopeful occasion of

mine, I will rely so much on your friendship that you will do so, and till the season serve, I will consult with my friends of some suits that I have propounded to me, whereof one hath a very good appearance. But his Majesty's favour is so precious to me, and I am so loth to trouble you, without at most assurance to make you amends by partaking the fruit of your pains and friendliness, that I will rather lose time than not be in very assured hope to prevail by these means, when I employ them. And so requesting you to present the enclosed to their Majesties, and to maintain me in their favour, I take my leave."

*Sir Andrew Sinclair to Lady Arabella Stuart.**

"My humble duty being remembered, most worthy Lady, it has pleased both their Majesties to command me to write their Majesties gracious recommendations to your Ladyship, and to thank your Ladyship for the honest favours it has pleased your Ladyship to bestow on both their Majesties, and especially the Queen esteems much of that present your Ladyship sent her Majesty, and says her Majesty will wear it for your Ladyship's sake. The King has commanded me to assure your Ladyship there is no honour, advancement, nor pleasure that his Majesty can do your Ladyship, but he shall do

* Harl. MS. 7003.

it, faithfully and willingly, as one of the best friends your Ladyship has in the world. Surely, I may confess with verity, I never heard no prince speak more worthily of a princess than his Majesty does of your Ladyship's good qualities and rare virtues, while I say no more, but I shall be one faithful instructor to entertain in the holy friendship between his Majesty and your Ladyship. As touching my Lady Nottingham, the King is now very well content with her Ladyship, because her letter was written of a little coleric passion, grounded on a fickler report, for his Majesty did never think that her Ladyship had only offended him, but only this that was."

*Lady Arabella Stuart to Anna Catharine, Queen of Denmark.**

"I yield your Majesty most humble thanks for your gracious acceptation of that trifle, which, with blushing at the unworthiness thereof, I presumed to present unto your Majesty, only out of the confidence of the sympathy of your gracious disposition, to that I found in the most puissant and noble King, your husband. Wherein, as I find myself nothing deceived, having received so extraordinary a favour from you, so I am encouraged hereafter

Harl. MS. 7003.

to continue the like signification of my dutiful respect and affection to your Majesty, in hope it will please you, by wearing my handiwork, to continue me in your gracious favour and remembrance. And so praying for your happiness."

*Lady Arabella Stuart to Sir Andrew Sinclair.**

"Sir,—You having not only performed the kindness I required of you, in delivering my letters to their Majesties, but returned me so great and unexpected a favour as his Majesty's letters, have doubly bound me to you, and I yield you, therefore, many great thanks, beseeching you to continue in preferring their Majesties' favour to me, for which good office I most desire to become obliged to you, so worthy and reverent a person. It may please you now with most humble thanks to present this letter to his Majesty, which is so very a trifle, as I was ashamed to accompany it with a letter to her Majesty, and if a piece of work of my own, which I was preparing, had been ready, I had prevented his Majesty's gracious, and your kind letter, in sending to you, but I was desirous not to omit his Majesty in the acknowledgment of my duty to her royal husband, and therefore loth to stay the finishing of a greater, have sent

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 45.

this little piece of work, in accepting whereof her Majesty's favour will be the greater. Thus, am I bold to trouble you even to these womanish toys, whose serious mind must have some relaxation, and this may be one to vouchsafe to descend to these petty offices for one that will ever wish your happiness increase, and continuance of honour."

The revels attendant on the King of Denmark's visit had the usual effect of ruin to the courtiers. It is probably in reference to the constant efforts of Arabella to gain money, that Lord Lisle, writing to the Earl of Shrewsbury, says: "I have yet done little in the matter of my Lady Arabella. I fear the Queen's inclination and the doubt that it will be an entrance to put the whole down. My Lady shall commend me and my best services, and much the more, seeing that your Lordship doth make yourself a party."

The favour of James was next manifested in March, for on the 9th of March, 1607, I find "a grant to the Lady Arabella of all such sums of money as shall come unto his Majestie's hands from any of the lands that were the inheritance of Thomas, Earl of Ormond."*

At the same time, Arabella was requested to

* State Papers. Grant Book, 1607.

give a proof of her friendship for the King of Denmark, by surrendering one of her musicians, a famous player on the lute, who had too well pleased his Danish Majesty. The following letters refer to this matter: among them is a specimen of Arabella's Latin proficiency. She was now with her uncle in the North.

*Henry, Prince of Wales, to Lady Arabella Stuart.**

"MADAM,—The Queen Majesty hath commanded me to signify to your Ladyship that she would have Cotting, your Ladyship's servant, to send to the King of Denmark, because he desired the Queen that she would send him one that could play upon the lute. I pray your Ladyship to send him back with an answer as soon as your Ladyship can.

"I desire you to commend me to my Lord and my Lady Shrewsbury; and also not to think me anything the worse scrivener that I write so ill, but to suspend your judgment till you come hither, when you shall find me as I was ever.

"Your Ladyship's loving Cousin,

"And assured friend,

"HENRY."

* Harl. MS. 6986, fol. 76.

*Queen Anne of Denmark to the Lady Arabella Stuart.**

"ANNA, R.—WELL-BELOVED COUSINE,—We greet you heartily well. Udo Gal, our dear brother's, the King of Denmark's, gentleman-servant, hath insisted with us for the licensing your servant, Thomas Cotting, to depart from you, but not without your permission, to our brother's service; and therefore we write these few lines unto you, being assured you will make no difficulty to satisfy our pleasure and our dear brother's desires, and so giving you the assurance of our constant favours, with our wishes for the continuance, or convalescence of your health, expecting your return, we commit you to the protection of God.—From Whitehall, 9th March, 1607.

The Lady Arabella Stuart to Henry, Prince of Wales.†

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,—I have received your Highness's letter, wherein I am let to understand that Her Royal Majesty is pleased to Command Cotting, my servant, for the King of

* Harl. MS. 6986, fol. 74. † Ibid. 7003, fol. 38.

Denmark, concerning the which your Highness requested my answer to her Majesty: the which I have accordingly returned by this bearer, referring him to her Majesty's good pleasure and disposition. And although I may have seen cause to be sorry to have lost the contentment of a good lute, yet must I confess that I am right glad to have found any occasion whereby to express to her Majesty and your Highness the humble respect which I owe you, and the readiness of my disposition to be conformed to your good pleasures, wherein I have placed a great part of the satisfaction which my heart can receive. I have, according to your Highness's direction, signified unto my Uncle and Aunt of Shrewsbury your Highness' gracious vouchsafing to remember them, who with all duty present their most humble thanks, and say they will ever pray for your Highness's most happy prosperity. And yet my Uncle saith he carrieth the same spleen in his heart towards your Highness that he hath ever done. And so praying to the Almighty for your Highness's felicity, I humbly cease.

From Sheffield, the 15th of March, 1607.

"Your Highness'

"Most humble and dutiful,

"Arbella Stuart."

*The Lady Arabella Stuart to Queen Anne.**

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST ROYAL MAJESTY,—I have received your Majesty's most gracious and favorable token which you have been pleased to send me as an assurance both of your Majesty's pardon, and of my remaining in your Gracious good opinion, the which how great contentment it hath brought unto me I find no words to express. And therefore most humbly addressing myself to the answer of your Majesty's pleasure, signified in your letter touching my licensing my servant Cotting to depart from me for the service of his Majesty of Denmark, I shall beseech of his Majesty to conceive, that although I know well how far more easy it is for so great a Prince to command the best musicians in the World than for me to recover one not inferior to this, yet do I most willingly embrace this occasion whereby I may in effect give some demonstration of my unfeigned disposition to apply myself ever unto all your Royal pleasures. And therefore most willingly referring my said servant to your Majesty's good pleasure, and most humbly beseeching that myself may still remain in your Gracious and Princely favour and protection, I will in all

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 37.

humility kiss your Majesty's royal hand. And ever beseech Almighty God to grant unto your Majesty all honorable happiness that may be imagined."

*Lady Arabella Stuart to the King of Denmark.**

"Augustissime ac Potentissime Rex,—Pauci dies preterlapsi sunt, postquam superiores meas ad Augustissimam Majestatem vestram dederam, cum celsissimæ ac serenissimæ Reginæ nostræ allatæ ad me litteræ sunt, ex quibus intellexi, cupere Majestatem vestram ut famulus meus Thomas Cotting, qui has nunc (nisi Deus non vult) perfert ad eam mitteretur, ut ejus opera inter pulsandæ cytheræ peritos vestri uti posset. Ac profecto quanquam et is mihi gratus inter paucos illius artis peritos existat, et non nesciam, in fortunâ Regiâ, ad quam potissimum omnia exquisitissima studia, vota, ingenia, et opera tum in hac tum in cæteris artibus expeditissime diriguntur, facilius esse, eorum qui maxime in quavis arte excellunt, numerum adhibere, quam modum, tamen cum nihil ipsa diligentius investigaverim, aut ambitiosius, quam eam occasionem quæ mihi exprimendi officii mei atque animi in obsequium vestræ Majestatis addictissimi facultatem suppe-

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 37.

ditaret, hanc demum, quantulamcunque opportuné se offerentem, libentissime arripui, et quem, exquisitissimis magistris traditum, et in meam gratiam in hac arte instructum, haud cum levi, tum artis, tum morum ingenuitate, commendative accepi, hunc eundem haud levius (modo id cum vestræ Majestatis bona venia fiat) commendatum vestræ Majestati mitto, missura (si æque possem) Orpheum aut Apollinem. Precor summum Deum ut ad animi sententiam, non in choro tantum et aulâ, sed in vitâ etiam et regno, omnia Majestati vestræ consonent ac conspirent. [Dat. die 1607.]"

[TRANSLATION.]

"MOST AUGUST AND POTENT KING,—But few days elapsed after I had forwarded my former letter to your most august Majesty, when a letter from our most High and Serene Queen was brought to me, from which I gathered, that your Majesty was desirous that my servant, Thomas Cotting, who now (God willing) carries this, should be sent to your Majesty, that your Majesty might avail yourself of his services among the skilful performers on the harp. And certainly, although he is pleasing to me among the few skilled in that art, and also although I am not ignorant that in the fortune of a palace to which more than any-

thing else all the most refined pursuits, wishes, talents, and pains, as well in this as in the rest of arts, are most speedily directed, it is more easy to give the number than the class of those who stand pre-eminent in any art, nevertheless, since I myself have sought for nothing more carefully or more eagerly than an occasion which would furnish me with an opportunity of displaying my duty and my zeal which is most devoted to the service of your Majesty, this occasion at length, however trifling it be, presenting itself so seasonably, I most gladly seized, and the person whom, after being entrusted to the most refined masters and to gratify me, instructed in this art, I received, accompanied by no trifling recommendation both in his art, and for the ingenuousness of his character, this very same person I send with no more trifling recommendation to your Majesty (provided it met with your Majesty's good approval), being desirous to send (if I could do so as well) Orpheus and Apollo. I pray the most High God that all things, not only in music and in the Court, but in life and in your reign also, may harmonise and be in concert with the feelings of your mind."

By July, Arabella was again at Court, where she represented the old Countess Bess as god-

mother to the son of the Earl of Arundel, the King and the Lord Chancellor being the godfathers.

Shortly after this, the Court paid a visit to the old town of Romsey, in Hampshire, where the King was the guest of Edward St. Barbe, Esq. On this occasion the royal visitors went to church in the venerable abbey, where they listened to a sermon preached by Bishop Andrews, and published among the discourses of that prelate.*

On the 6th of September, Arabella's little goddaughter, the Princess Mary, died at the age of two and a half. The Queen desired that the child should have a funeral fitting her rank;† but the King, who "took her death as a wise Prince should,"‡ ordered her to be buried in Westminster Abbey as cheaply as possible, "without any solemnitie nor funerall."§ The cold hearts of both James and Anne are strikingly manifested at the loss of a child at the most engaging age of infancy. "The Queen," writes Cecil, "takes this losse naturally, but I assure you now it is irrevocable, she and the King both dygest it

* Nichols' "Progresses," ii.
† Letter of the Earl of Worcester; Lodge, iii.
‡ Letter of Rowland Whyte. Ibid.
§ Letter of the Earl of Salisbury. Ibid.

very well and wisely."* The King went a week afterwards to Royston to hunt, and the next month went to a grand banquet given by the Lord Mayor.

The allowances to the servants of the Court were now so diminished, that a gift even in food was thankfully accepted. Whatever else Earl Gilbert suffered from, he seems never to have been in want of deer in his park, and some venison pasties that he sent to London are stated "to grace the hungry tables at Court," where, says Sir Rowland Whyte, in rather a significant manner, "I now and then *look upon them.*"

At this time Arabella wrote to Sir Roger Wilbraham and her Uncle Gilbert:—

*Lady Arabella Stuart to Sir Roger Wilbraham.**

"After my very hearty commendations. Whereas this poor man Richard Alborne hath a suit depending in his Majesty's Court of Request concerning a copyhold wherein he hath an estate for term of his life, which, as I am given to understand, is to receive a hearing before you to-morrow; I am moved in regard of his ancient and diligent service in Court to solicit your lawful

* Letter of the Earl of Salisbury; Lodge, iii.

† State Papers, James, Dom., 28, fol. 85, MS.

favour to be shewed unto him on this behalf, wherein you may do a very charitable deed, and give me occasion to rest very thankful unto you for the same. Thus referring the poor man's whole state to your great considerations, I bid you heartily farewell.

"Whitehall, this 3rd of November, 1607.

"Your very loving friend,

"ARBELLA STUART."

*Lady Arabella Stuart to the Earl of Shrewsbury.**

"GOOD UNCLE,—I writ to you within these 48 hours by Mr. Stanley, and am very glad of the occasion of so good a messenger and so honorable and kind a letter as I received from your Lordship by Mr. Parker to write to you again, and that a great deal the rather because this short time and calm climate affording none, you have given me the best theme to write of, which is thanks for your not checking my importunity in begging venison, but endeavouring to satisfy it in better sort than I presumed of, for the worst kind of many, I am sure, in any of your grounds should be very welcome hither, and then, if it be possible to have so good a one as your Lordship

* Sloane MS. 4164.

wishes, you know what a delicate it will be to them that shall have it, and how welcome such a testimony of your love and favour shall be to me. And beseeching your Lordship to remember me humbly to my Aunt for honour and happiness, as for your Lordship I will pray, I take my leave.

"From Whitehall the 2nd of Dec., 1607.

"Your Lordship's niece,

"ARBELLA STUART."

The shortest intervals of quiet were anxiously looked forward to by the miserable courtiers, who, with the Queen and her ladies, were dragged about from place to place, regardless of weather, health, or comfort. There was but one great object in life for the King, and that was hunting, which, in the eyes of the Queen, also, was only second to masques. On the 29th of November Sir George Chaworth writes: "The King is indifferently well pleased with his hunting, and, which is to me as great news as ease, is not so earnest, without all intermission or respect of weather, be it hot or cold, dry or moist, to give to his hunting or hawking as he was; for though he be as earnest, being at it as he was, yet is he more apt to take hold of a let, and a reasonable wind will blow him to, and

keep him at home all day."* And on Christmas Day the Earl of Pembroke writes to Gilbert Shrewsbury: "These Holidays have brought us some rest, as welcome as to schoolboys, for till Christmas Eve we have been in perpetual motion; and as soon as Twelve Tide is past, we shall begin our voyage again, I am afraid."†

* Lodge, iii. † Ibid.

CHAPTER III.

THE LAST DAYS OF BESS OF HARDWICK.

THE year 1608 was ushered in by an extravagant "Masque of Beauty," written for Twelfth Night, but deferred till the following Sunday. Plays had been acted all the holidays, which, being thinly attended by strangers, we may suppose the courtiers to have been more in request, to the great detriment of their purses. On Twelfth Night there was a "great golden play" at Court. No gamester was allowed to play for less than £300. At the "Masque of Beauty," Arabella appeared in jewels and robes worth more than £100,000.* She personated one of the characters at this Masque, which, says Rowland Whyte, "was as well performed as ever any was." The Spanish ambassador was so delighted with it that he invited the fifteen ladies who performed to dinner, bringing with them who they pleased.

But this festivity was soon renounced for a more

* Chamberlayne's Letters.

solemn occasion, and Arabella was summoned to her relations in the North by a long-expected, and, sad to say, long hoped-for event.

On the 13th of February, 1608, the "great and aged" Countess of Shrewsbury, Bess of Hardwick, died at the age of ninety, at Hardwick Hall, where she had passed the years of her fourth widowhood "in abundant wealth and splendour, feared by many, beloved by none, flattered by some, and courted by a numerous train of children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren."* For some time she had been failing and growing gradually weaker, losing appetite and becoming unable to leave her bedroom. Her restless and selfish spirit remained to the last. With all her talents for business, for success in the world, match-making, and pushing herself forward in society, she had been unable to secure a single friend. It is true that after her death a bishop and archbishop pronounced eulogies upon her. Tobias Matthew, Archbishop of York, preached her funeral sermon, taking as his text Solomon's description of a virtuous woman, whom, as far as good housekeeping went, Bess certainly resembled. But though she had done her best for her children in a worldly point of view, she had never

* Hunter's "Sheffield."

troubled herself about their hearts or their spiritual welfare. She had taught them to consider that the great objects of life are worldly success, riches, station, rank, and security. To this education they did ample justice, and for years before her death she had no other influence over them than such as is bought by money. Her rewards consisted of so many hundreds a year, her punishments of a deprival of furniture or money, accompanied with threats of disinheritance. When she began to give proof that she would never recover, her favourite son, William (the same for whom she had directed Arabella to procure a barony at the christening of the Princess Mary), gave secret orders that at the instant of her death all the sheep and cattle were to be driven away for his advantage; and similar calculations were made by her other children. But one interest was left her —building—that was only stopped by her death. Some polite attempts at consolation were offered to the survivors by the friends of the family, but the only ones who needed it were those whom she disinherited.

Her will directed her body to be buried in All-Hallows Church, Derby, beneath a monument which she had prepared for herself in her lifetime. A thousand pounds were to be divided among her servants, who were to be allowed to remain at

Hardwick for a month after her funeral, which she sensibly desired might be performed in a manner "not over sumptuous, with too much vain and idle charge," but only "in decent and convenient order, fit for her estate and degree." During her lifetime she had founded an almshouse at Derby, and to each of the poor inhabiting it at the time of her death she left one mourning gown and twenty shillings, to be paid on the day of her funeral. To William Cavendish was left her house at Hardwick, with its plate and furniture. Henry possessed Chatsworth and Oldcotes, Charles succeeded to Welbeck, and her daughters to the portions settled on them at their marriage. These arrangements had been made by Sir William Cavendish, who had left her only a life interest in the landed property. Arabella, therefore, had probably succeeded to her mother's portion before, and so benefited nothing by the death of her grandmother, who carried her vindictive feelings beyond the grave. When she first made her will in 1601, she left to her "very loving grandchild, Arabella Stuart, a crystal glass framed with silver and gilt, and set with lapis lazuli and agate and one sable, the head being of gold enamelled, together with all the pearls and jewels she should have at her decease, except such as are otherwise bequeathed, and a thousand pounds in money." This will being

made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, she leaves £200 to buy a gold cup for the Queen, whom she beseeches to be good and gracious to her poor grandchild, Arabella Stuart, as she says the Queen had often promised her. Though she declares Arabella to be solely dependent on the gracious providence of the Queen, yet it is not likely that Arabella, being then in favour with Bess, should not have received more from her if she had not already been in possession of her mother's share.

But by 1603 Arabella was in disgrace, and Bess, adding a codicil, declared that "forasmuch as she had changed her mind touching her bequests and legacies to her granddaughter Arabella Stuart and her son Henry Cavendish, and was fully determined that neither her said granaddughter nor the said Henry Cavendish shall have any benefit by any such gift or legacy, every gift and legacy that she had appointed for either shall be utterly frustrated, void, of none effect." This was confirmed about a year and a half before her death, and poor Arabella was totally disinherited.

Not the least valuable of the bequests of Bess was her furniture, which she had spared neither trouble nor cost to render worthy of her noble mansions. As a specimen, I give a list of some of the Hardwick chattels.

In the best bedroom were the following :—

"Seven pieces of hangings of embroidery of cloth of gold and silver cloth of tissue, velvet of sundry colours and needlework twelve foot deep. One piece of the picture of Faith and her contrary, Mahomet. Another piece with the picture of Temperance and the contrary, Sardynapales: the other four pieces paned and wrought with flowers and slips of needlework.

"A bedstead, gilt.

"A fair large sparver and bedshead, with double valence of cloth of gold, cloth of silver, sundry colours of velvet, embroidered fair with divers arms, with portals and pictures, and with a deep gold fringe.

"Six curtains of blue and satin stripe with gold and silver, and laced with gold lace about the edges, and a gold twist down the seams, and fringed about with gold fringe.

"A mattress.

"A down bed.

"A down bolster and two pillows.

"A wool quilt.

"A piece of fustian.

"A white Spanish rug.

"A counterpoint of cloth of tissue, paned with cloth of gold and silver, and a broad gold lace and gold fringe about it, lined with crimson sarsenet.

"A purple sarsenet quilt.

"Three foot Turkey carpets, the ground of them white, to lay about the bed.

"A square table inlaid, and a carpet for it of needlework made with roses and antiques, with a broad silver lace, with a border of white satin embroidered and a gold fringe.

"A cupboard and a carpet for it of the story of David and Nathan, with trees of needlework, and a border of crimson velvet about it, and gold fringe.

"A great chair, trimmed with crimson velvet, embroidered with gold, and with a gold fringe.

"Another little chair and a little stool suitable, with a gold fringe.

"A little stool covered with crimson velvet embroidered with needlework flowers.

"Two French stools inlaid, set with marble stones.

"A joined stool.

"Two needlework cushions for the windows, whereof one with my Lord and Lady's Arms wrought in it, and lined with crimson satin, the other of Europa, wrought with gold and silver silk, and lined with china cloth of gold.

"A cushion for the chair of crimson velvet, embroidered with pearl, with a gold fringe, about which are tassels of silver and yellow silk, and lined with cloth of silver.

"A screen, with a cover for it of carnation velvet embroidered with gold and a gold fringe.

"A little desk of mother-of-pearl.

"A fair pair of andirons, fire-shovel, and tongs."

The rest of her house was in keeping with this gorgeous chamber, and though faded and worn with time, the rich remains may still be seen at Hardwick Hall.

The traveller who passes through Derby and enters All-Hallows Church may behold a recumbent marble figure stretched on a solitary tomb, beneath which lie the mortal remains of Bess of Hardwick.

CHAPTER IV.

MONEY DIFFICULTIES.

FROM Hardwick Hall Arabella wrote the following letter to her aunt. It contains no allusion to her disinheritance. Soon after she returned to Court, and there continued her usual life:—

*Lady Arabella Stuart to the Countess of Shrewsbury** (*undated*).

"MADAM,—I humbly thank you for your letters. I deferred to write to you till I had taken my leave here, and then I have intended to have sent one to your ladyship and my uncle, to deliver my humble thanks for so many kindnesses and favours, as I have received at this time of my being here from you both, and to take a more mannerly farewell than I could at our parting; but your ladyship hath prevented my intention in sending this bearer, by whom, in these few lines, I will per-

* Sloane MS. 4164.

form that duty (not compliment) of acknowledging myself much bound to you for every particular kindness and bounty of yours at this time, which reviveth the memory of many more former; and I assure you, that none of my cousins, your daughters, shall be more ready to do you service than I. The money your ladyship sends my Lady Pembroke shall be safely and soon delivered her. And praying for your ladyship's happiness, honour, and comfort in as great measure as yourself can wish, I humbly take my leave. From Hardwick this Monday. Your ladyship's affectionate niece to command,

"ARBELLA STUART.

"I pray your ladyship commend me to my uncle Charles and my aunt, and my pretty cousins. I think I shall many times wish, myself, for my cousin Charles at Wales."

On the 10th of April we find Arabella acting as a match-maker. Her cousin William Cavendish, son of the new-made baron, married secretly the daughter of Lord Kinloss, Master of the Rolls, so secretly that "it was never heard of it till it was done." The bride was only thirteen years old, "a pretty red-headed wench," with a "porcion of seven thousand pownde." Arabella was present at the wedding dinner, and doubtless also she gave a

handsome present; and when we look at the constant dissipation of the Court, in which she was forced to take a part, we shall scarcely wonder that such continual calls kept her purse empty. Arabella does not seem more inclined to economy than those around her, and to supply the continual inroads on her purse she was driven to the strangest expedients. The following document drawn up by her uncle Gilbert, gives a curious illustration:—

A copy of that which the King's Majesty is to be moved to sign touching Oats. *July*, 1608.*

"Our will and pleasure is, that there be given and granted unto our trusty and well-beloved cousin, the Lady Arbella Stuart, and unto her deputy or deputies, for and during the whole term of one-and-twenty years next after the date of our letters patent, sufficient power and authority, under our great seal of England, for us, and in our name and right, and to our use in all places within our realm of England and Wales, to take yearly a bond or recognizance of five pounds of every inn-holder or hostler, wherein the said inn-holder or hostler shall be bound not to take any more than sixpence gain, over and above the common price in the market, for and in every bushel of oats which

* Lodge, iii.

he or they shall sell in gross or by retail, unto any passengers or travellers. The said bushel also, or any other measure, to be according to the ancient measure or standard of England, commonly called Winchester measure.

"And we will also, that our said well-beloved cousin, the Lady Arbella, or her deputy or deputies, shall take for every such bond or recognizance of every inn-holder or hostler the sum of 2s. 6d., whereof one full fifth part, our will is that she or her deputy or deputies shall retain to her or their own use, in consideration of pains and charges. And our further pleasure is, that our said cousin shall have full power and authority to depute any person or persons, during the said term, for the execution of the foresaid power, so given and granted unto her.

"To our trusty and well beloved Sergeant at the Law, our Attorney General, and to any of them."

"Reasons wherefore His Majesty may grant this suit—

"1. Your Majesty's revenues shall be increased a 1000 livres per annum, without any charge to your Majesty.

"2. The inn-holder or hostler shall receive ten times more than ever any law heretofore allowed them.

"3. The travelling subjects of all sorts, as noblemen, judges, lawyers, gentlemen, linnen-men, woollen-men, hardware-men, and carriers, who are the upholders of all trades within this land, shall in their travel be much eased; and thereby wares may be sold in the country the cheaper.

"4. The common measure of this land shall then be used, which now it is not, for the innholder and hostler doth by his hoslry make six pecks at the least of every bushel, and so thereby every one only quarter of oats sold by them, retailed weekly, amounteth at the least to forty-five pounds in the year or thereabouts, and they buy the same generally at ten shillings at the most.

"5. In the last dear years, the innholders did raise the price of oats to sixpence their peck, which they sold before for threepence or fourpence at the most; since which time they never abated the price of sixpence their peck."

Two gentlemen made application for the grant at the same time, but as no record remains of its being obtained, the probability is that all three petitioners failed in their suit.

On the following October, Chamberlayne refers to an extraordinary application on the part of Arabella to obtain money. There is, says he, the "muttering of a bill put into the Exchequer

or some other court concerning much land, that by reason of pretended bastardy in Queen Elizabeth, should descend to divers persons. The chief actors named in it are Lady Arabella, St. Leger of the West, and others. If there be any such thing, methinks the whole State should prevent and resent such an indignity."

This is the only reference made to so extraordinary an affair; it was probably nothing but rumour, or, at any rate, is on too light an evidence to condemn Arabella for an act of such unmitigated folly.

The next letters bring us to the close of 1609, when Arabella paid a visit to her noble relations in the North. The short letter from Earl Gilbert to his steward, shows the minute interest and care which noblemen manifested in their households in those days.

*Lady Arabella Stuart to the Earl of Shrewsbury.**

"Because I know not that your Lordship hath forsaken one recreation that you have liked heretofore, I presume to send you a few idle lines to read in your chair, after you have tired yourself either with affairs, or any sport that bringeth weariness; and, knowing you well advertised of

* Lodge, iii. p. 372.

all occurrents in serious manner, I make it my end only to make you merry, and show my desire to please you even in playing the fool; for no folly is greater, I trow, than to laugh when one smarteth; but that my aunt's divinity can tell you, St. Lawrence, deriding his tormentors even upon the gridiron, bade them turn him on the other side, for that he lay on was sufficiently broiled, I should not know how to excuse myself from either insensibleness or contempt of injuries. I find if one rob a house, and build a church with the money, the wronged party may go pipe in an ivy leaf for any redress; for money so well bestowed must not be taken from that holy work, though the right owner go a-begging.

"Unto you it is given to understand parables or to command the comment; but if you be of this opinion of the Scribes and Pharisees, I condemn your Lordship, by your leave, for an heretic, by the authority of Pope Joan; for there is a text saith, you must not do evil that good may come thereof.

"But now from doctrine to miracles: I assure you within these few days I saw a pair of virginals make good music without help of any hand but of one that did nothing but warm, not move a glass, some 5 or 6 foot from them. And if I thought thus great folks invisibly and far off work in

matters to tune them as they please; I pray your Lordship forgive me, and I hope God will, to whose holy protection I humbly recommend your Lordship.

"From Broadstreet, the 17th June, 1609.

"I humbly pray your Lordship to bestow two of the next good personages of yours shall fall on me; not that I mean to convert them to my own benefit, for though I go rather for a good clerk then a worldly-wise woman, I aspire to no degree of Pope Joan, but some good ends, whereof this bearer will tell your Lordship one. My boldness shows how honorably I believe of your disposing such livings.

"Your Lordship's niece,

"ARBELLA STUART.

"To the Right Honourable my very good
Uncle the Earl Shrewsbury."

*The Earl of Shrewsbury to Henry Butler.**

"HARRY BUTLER,—Tell Richard the cook I would have him stay at Sheffield till I come thither, which shall be, God willing, to-morrow at night. Tell Moorhouse that my Lady Arbella will be at Sheffield some day this week, as I verily

* Hunter's "Sheffield."

think. Fish enough must be watered; for there will be an extreme great number in the hall every day. Fat beef and fat muttons must be had, and the beef in time killed and powdered. Fat capons provided and reserved till then, and everything else that either Richard or Moorehouse can provide or think useful; and Wyngfeld's best advice to be had and followed. So in extreme haste I end.

"Send away this letter to be safely delivered to Leigh, speedily, wheresoever he be, for it requireth great haste. Send this other letter to Sir Charles this day also.

"At Tankyrsley, this Wednesday, 29th Aug., 1609.

"G. Sh."

*Lady Arabella Stuart to the Earl of Shrewsbury.**

"I was much ashamed to be overtaken by your Lordship's letter by Mr. Fowler, before I had answered your former, but I presume of your pardon for such peccadillos. Good wishes can never come amiss, whether from amongst caps or beads, and therefore at all adventures, I humbly thank your Lordship. For want of a nunnery, I have for awhile retired myself to the Friars,†

* Sloane MS. 4164. † Black Friars.

where I have found by experience this term, how much worse they thrive who say, '*Go we to the plough,*' then '*Go ye to the plough,*' so that once more I am setting myself to follow the lawyers most diligently.

"I pray God the cheese I herewith send your Lordship prove as good as great (which few of your great Lords are, by your leave), and truly I hope well of it, because the fellow of it, which is tasted here, is so. And as I have sent your Lordship some of the stoppingst meat that is, so I have sent you some of the sharpest sallet I ever eat. A great person loveth it well (as I told your Lordship at my being with you), and that is all I can say in the commendation of it. If you have of it in the country, I pray you let me know, that I may laugh at myself for being so busy to get this. God send you a good stomach, and a good digestion shall be the salt to these 2 bodies of sallets and cheese, I hope with the good allowance of all makers by North Trent. And so beseeching the Almighty to send you all honour and happiness, I humbly cease.—From Blackfriars, the 8th of December, 1608.

"Your Lordship's niece,

"ARBELLA STUART."

The great preparations made for the reception of Arabella at Sheffield show the important light in which she was regarded. It was necessary to receive her, not as Earl Gilbert's niece, but the King's cousin, and the large additional amount of viands of a common order show the expensive train that accompanied her. Her visit was speedily followed by another scheme to obtain money, and was probably at this time concocted between her uncle and herself. This was to obtain the monopoly of wine, aqua vitæ, and usquebagh in Ireland. Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, was the person relied on to obtain this suit. She was more successful in this than about the oats. In the Docquet Book for 1609, Nov. 2, we find a letter from Sir Thomas Lake to the Lord Deputy of Ireland, requiring him "to cause a graunt under the great Seale of that Realme to be made to the Lady Arabella Stewart, her Deputyes and Assignees, whereby they for 21 yeares shall have privilege to nominate such persons as shall sell wynes of any sorte, aqua vitæ, or usquebagh within that kingdom. Accordinge to a Mynute entered at Large in the private Signet booke, dated the 2nd of November."*

The following letters relate to this grant, and show how careful Arabella was to have it well

* State Papers, Docquet 1609.

confirmed. They also show that such scandalous impositions were by no means received without a murmur in Ireland.

With these letters end the last year of peace for Arabella. New scenes and trials await her. It is remarkable that the last letter, dated Dec. 17, suddenly expresses a wish to renounce her Irish monopoly, to have her debts paid, and, instead of her dishes from the royal table, to have a fixed income. All this bespeaks a change of life, a preparation for a new style of living, which we shall treat of in the next chapter.

*Lady Arabella Stuart to the Earl of Salisbury.**

"My honorable good Lord, — I yield you humble thanks for the honorable care it hath pleased you to have of me, both in the election and effecting of this suite, which shall ever bind me to humble thankfulness towards your Lordship, for whose long life, honour, and happiness I pray to the Almighty, and rest

"Your Lordship's much bounden and assured friend,

"Arbella Stuart."

* State Papers, James, Dom., xlvii., fol. 108, MS.

*The Earl of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Salisbury.**

"My Lord,—My Lady Arbella hath been pleased to impart unto me the honorable and favorable care that she hath found in your Lordship in her occasions, and particularly in that suit of hers touching the wines in Ireland, being so full of all due thankfullness for it, as I must need obey her comandement by presenting my best thanks to your Lordship from my poor self also for the same. I perceive her Ladyship doubteth that this suit of hers for wines, and aqua vitæ, and usquebagh, called also Irish wines, will receive some cross in Ireland, for that the same law for restraint of beer and ale are not there that are here, and therefore beseecheth that your Lordship will grant her furthermore for the King's Majesty's Letters, that by precedents from our laws here, prohibition by judgment of State may be made there, and this noble Lady to have the licensing, the brewing, and sales of them; as an addition to that good that is so honorably intended by your Lordship to her. And lastly, that you will be pleased to like of this bearer's care and diligent following of this business until it be settled, and that he may be favoured with such

* State Papers, James, Dom., xlviii., fol. 390, MS.

expedition as the term business may not overtake it, which will then give more immedient to your Lordship to hearken thereunto with such convenience as now you may.

"All which I Leave unto your better consideration. And myself as always

"Your Lordship's most assured
true friend to command,
"GILB. SHREWSBURY.

"At Sheffield Lodge, this day,
Sept., 1609."

*Lady Arabella Stuart to the Earl of Salisbury.**

"MY HONORABLE GOOD LORD,—I having been a long suitor, as your Lordship knows, whose honorable favour, I humbly thank you, I have found from time to time, I am now advised by some friends of mine of your judgement and experience to procure the great seal of England to my book. Both because it will be a furtherance to a speedier dispatch of this suit in Ireland and that this business must be done and executed by deputation, and a check there. Therefore, I humbly beseech your Lordship, that by your favour, on which I only rely, I may obtain the great seal of England to the book herewith pre-

* State Papers, James, Dom., l., fol. 69, MS.

sented to your Lordship. For whose honour and happiness I pray, and so humbly take leave.

"From Puddle-Wharfe, the 17th of December, 1609.

"Your Lordship's much bounden poor friend,

"ARBELLA STUART."

*Lady Arabella Stuart to the Earl of Salisbury.**

"Where your Lordship willed me to set down a note of those 3 things wherein I lately moved you. They are these:—The first, that I am willing to return back his Majesty's gracious grant to me of the wines in Ireland, so as your Lordship will take order for the paying of my debts when I shall upon my honour inform you truly what they are. The next, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to augment my allowance in such sort as I may be able to live in such honour and countenance hereafter as may stand with his Majesty's honour and my own comfort. And lastly, that where his Majesty doth now allow me a diet, that he will be pleased, stead thereof, to let me have one thousand pounds yearly. Some other things I will presume to entreat your Lordship's like favour in that may stand me in stead; but for that they are such as

* State Papers, James, Dom., l., fol. 69, MS.

I trust your Lordship will think his Majesty will easily grant, I will now forbear to set them down.

"Your Lordship's poor friend,

"ARBELLA STUART."

CHAPTER V.

ARABELLA LOSES FAVOUR.

UP to the close of 1609, Arabella retained all her favour at Court. But at the end of that year we find her in disgrace. The cause is alluded to, but only in that mysterious manner so tantalizing to a biographer, so utterly unreliable as a source of authority. In a letter of Chamberlayne, dated December 30th, 1609, occur these words:—"I can learn no more of the Lady Arabella but that she is committed to the Lord Knyvet, and was yesterday again before the Lords. Her gentleman-usher and her waiting woman are close prisoners since her first restraint." From a subsequent letter of Mr. John Beaulieu we find that her crime consisted in having, "without the King's privity, entertained a notion of marriage." This suspicion, or accusation, Arabella contrived to set at rest, and was so far restored to the King's favour as to be "restored to her former place and grace." The King gave her a cupboard

of plate worth more than £200 for a New Year's gift, a thousand marks to pay her debts, and probably agreed to her proposal concerning the change of dishes of meat for a fixed income, as we find an entry among the Sloane papers of a pension of £1600 to the Lady Arabella.

But her favour did not last long. On the following February she was discovered in a treaty of marriage with William Seymour, the very same person on whose account she was imprisoned by Queen Elizabeth in 1603.

At first sight, this seems an almost certain proof of the truth of the charge brought against her then. A little consideration, however, will show this to be by no means the case. The chief authority for her accusation, viz., Beaumont, the French ambassador, afterwards exculpated her, and no mention is made of Seymour's name in connexion with that of Arabella till the present time. And now, though the parties named are the same, the circumstances are wholly changed. Then Seymour was a boy, whom no woman could have married but as a tool of ambition or wealth. The time was critical, the succession to the crown uncertain. But now, though Seymour is still very young, not more than twenty-three, he is a man, and a man of such different tastes to those around him as to explain the attraction that made Arabella, who was

one of those gifted with the immortal youth of the spirit, overlook the difference in the age of years.

William Seymour was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he early took his degree of Bachelor of Arts.* His birth, if we except political dangers, rendered him, perhaps, the fittest person in the kingdom for Arabella. But other reasons explain her choice. In that age of ignorance, dissipation, and idleness, how difficult for such a mind as hers to find sympathy! Whither could she look? Certainly not in the houses of her relations, which presented constant scenes of discord. And the Court, that should set the example to a nation of all that is lofty, that should be the patron of the arts, of literature, of all that can elevate—the Court, which is frequented by those who have had the best opportunities, as far as time and money and books and good teachers and travel are concerned—what was that? At the head was a monarch who, while professing the utmost learning, considered hunting as the chief aim of existence, and a queen whose constant endeavour was to kill the time by every species of frivolous vanity that could be procured. The courtiers were of the same genus.

William Seymour had no taste for the dissipations that present the most alluring attractions to

* Appendix, II., 6.

young men. He was of even too sedentary a disposition, "loving his book above all other exercise."* Here then, probably, lay the secret. Arabella had treated with the utmost indifference the offers of foreign potentates for her hand. But now she, for perhaps the first time in her life, found sympathy in the high pursuits which she had hitherto carried on alone. And those who find sympathy in intellect prize it well. Perhaps there is nothing on this earth that draws together two souls so much as a similarity of intellectual pursuits. How high the ambition that shall shed a recognised light on another—how tenfold interesting the book which is shared with a friend—how delightful the echo of words that have hitherto fallen on barren air! The crown of Poland, the Duchy of Parma, had been without attraction for Arabella. But now she had found a *companion*. As with Rahel Levin† and Varnhagen, the difference in age, which at first sight seemed to separate them more than anything else, became only an accident of which neither thought. Not the slightest allusion is made to it in any of their letters. Arabella was as young in heart as Seymour, while her tender feelings were deeper, better than his.

* Clarendon.

† *Levin* was the maiden name of Rahel Varnhagen von Ense.

They are first supposed to have grown intimate while Seymour was at college and Arabella was at the Court at Woodstock. Well can we imagine the stolen interviews, the hour of change from the "everlasting hunting" and almost everlasting masques, to pleasant intercourse in that legend-haunted spot.

Arabella now obtained leave of the King to marry whom she pleased. Certainly James had little idea of the scion of Hertford when he gave this permission.

On the 2nd of Feb., 1610, accordingly, Seymour obtained admission to the apartment of Arabella, and there the two pledged their troth. Two separate times they met at the house of friends soon after, once at a Mr. Baggs, in Fleet-street, and once at a Mr. Boynton's. But before a third meeting could be arranged, news came to the King's ear, a warrant was issued, and both lovers were summoned before the Privy Council.

The following letter from William Seymour to the Lords of the Privy Council gives a full account of the matter. The mercenary and calculating tone would be revolting, were it not necessary to make due allowance for the circumstances in which the writer was placed. The only hope and chance of escape lay in ascribing the lowest and commonest motive to the wish for

marriage. The slightest hint at ambition would have been fatal, the expression of any warm affection would have led to fears of its renewal, and made their separation still more sure. Arabella perfectly understood this; and when Seymour was charged with his fickleness to her in her presence by some friend, who doubtless thought of acting for "her good," she refused to listen, but said that Seymour "did no more in that case than Abraham and Isaac had both done, who disclaimed their wives for a time."*

William Seymour to the Lords of the Council.†

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GOOD LORDSHIPS:— Since it is your pleasure (which to me shall always stand for a law) that I should truly relate under my hand those passages which have been between the noble Lady Arbella and myself, I do here in these rugged lines truly present the cause to your Lordships' favorable censure, that thereby his most excellent Majesty may by your Lordships be fully satisfied of my duty and faithful allegiance, which shall ever be a spur to me to expose my life and all my fortunes to the extremest dangers for his Highness' service, that I will

* "Court and Times of James the First."—Letter of Clement Edmonds, i. p. 126.

† Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 59.

never attempt anything which I shall have certain foreknowledge will be displeasing unto him. I do therefore humbly confess that when I conceived that noble Lady might with his Majesty's good favour and without offence make her choice of any subject within this Kingdom, which conceit was begotten in me upon a general report after her Ladyship's last being called before your Lordships, that it might be; myself being but a younger brother, and sensible of mine own good, unknown to the world, of mean estate, not born to challenge anything by my birthright and therefore my fortunes to be raised by mine own endeavor, and she a Lady of great honour and virtue, and as I thought of great means, I did plainly and honestly endeavour lawfully to gain her in marriage, which is God's ordinance common to all, assuring myself if I could effect the same with his Majesty's most gracious favour and liking (without which I resolved never to proceed) that thence would grow the first beginning of all my happiness; and therefore I boldly intruded myself into her Ladyship's chamber in the Court on Candelmas day* last, at what time I imparted my desire unto her; which was entertained but with this caution on either part, that both of us resolved not to proceed to any final conclusion

* Feb. 2.

without his Majesty's most gracious favour and liking first obtained; and this was our first meeting. After that we had a second meeting at Mr. Baggs his house in Fleet-street; and then a third at Mr. Boynton's, at both which we had the like conference and resolution as before; and the next day save one after the last meeting, I was convented before your Lordships, when I did then deliver as much as now I have written: both then and now protesting, before God, upon my duty and allegiance to his most excellent Majesty, and as I desire to be retained in your Lordships' good opinions, there is neither promise of marriage, contract, or any other engagement whatsoever between her Ladyship and myself, nor ever was any marriage by me or her intended, unless his Majesty's gracious favour and approbation might have been first gained therein; which we resolved to obtain before we would proceed to any final conclusion. Whereof I humbly beseech your Lordships to inform his Majesty, that by your good means, joined to the clearness of an unspotted conscience and a loyal heart to his Highness, I may be acquitted in his just judgment from all opinion of any disposition in me to attempt any thing distasteful or displeasing to his Majesty, as one well knowing that the just disfavour of my sovereign will be my confusion:

whereas his gracious favour and goodness towards me, may be the advancement of my poor fortunes. And thus my Lords, according to your commands, I have made a true relation of what was required, humbly referring the favourable construction thereof to your Lordships, having for the farther hastening of the truth, and ever to bind me thereunto hereafter, subscribed my name the 20th of February, 1609.

"WILLIAM SEYMOURE."

The explanation seems to have satisfied the King. He considered his mandate sufficient, and the promises of the offenders not to renew the match put the matter at rest. Arabella was perfectly restored to favour, with all her privileges, as appears by the confirmation of her Irish monopoly about six weeks after.

On the 31st of March, the following documents were granted under the "greate Seale:"—

*The Lords of the Privy Council to the Lord Deputy of Ireland.**

"It hath pleased his Majtie by his Letters patent under the greate Seale of this Kingdome, to give Licence unto Sir George St. Paule, Kt. and

* State Papers. Irish Correspondence, 228, fol. 68.

Henry Yelverton, Esq., to appoint any two such as they shall thinke fitt, during their lives successively, two by two, for the Space of one and twentie yeares, to sell wines and usquebach in that Realme of Ireland, with certaine other privileges and clauses, and with authoritie for granting the like Letters patent under the greate Seal of that Realme. And albeit the same for some respects bee passed in the names of the said Sir George St. Paule and Mr. Yelverton, yet your Lordship may conceave that a Suite of this nature could not have been procured from his Majestie but by a personage of extraordinarie ranke and estimation, as in the Lady Arbella Stuarte, neere in bloode, and in especialle grace and favoure with his Highnesse, and to whose use and benefite it is wholly intended. Of thus much, therefore, wee are willing to give your Lordship notice. And by cause we knowe it to bee his Maj^es^ pleasure that this gracious gift of his should be extended to as much benefite for this noble Lady as may be without wrong to any particular person, or opposition to the Constitution of that State and Government, wee have thought good to recommend the same, and such as she shall thinke fitt to imploye, to your Lordship's especiall favour. And do hartylie pray and request you not only to grant them your Letters of assistance to his

Maj^ties officers there, but in everything else to yield them also your best furtherance in such sort as their care of his Maj^ties said Letters may receive due execution without any colorable pretence or evasion whatever. And so wee commit yr. Lo. to God." Signed by the

Lo. Treasurer,	E. of Shrewsbury,
Lo. Privy Seal,	Lo. Wollon,
Lo. Chamberlaine,	Lo. Stanhope.

"March 22. A grant to the Lady Arrabella Stuart, George St. Paule, Kt., and Henry Yelverton, Esq., power and authority for the terme of 21 yeares to nominate and appoint such persons as they shall thinke fitt to keepe taverns, and to sell Wine and Usquebagh within the realm of Ireland."*

Arabella and Seymour had probably only made their promise with a view of a secret marriage. They were bound to each other by a solemn vow, and this they placed higher than the pledge extorted by the King. One of the promises must be broken, and if a scruple of conscience did come in the way, it is hardly to be wondered that they thought that promise least sacred which was exacted by force.

They did not wait long. Seymour had a friend

* State Papers, Docquet Book, 1610, MS.

named Edward Rodney, a young man who was an object of special dislike to the old Earl of Hertford, who looked on him as a dangerous companion for his grandson, and attributed much of the latter's "folly" to the evil counsels of Rodney. In his evidence, Rodney was of course anxious to exculpate himself, so his word is not of much value, but there is no reason to believe that Seymour wanted any other persuasion than his own feelings.

At Whitsuntide, Seymour met Rodney at Lambeth, and informed him of his resolution to marry Arabella, notwithstanding what had passed. He spoke only in general terms, very cautiously, and made no allusion to any direct plan. He "did not tell how he had obtained her promise again, or *re-obtained* her love, nor mentioned any letter, token, or message" from her. He only said that as he had pledged his faith to her, he was bound in honour to marry her, and absolutely intended it. He then bound Rodney by a solemn oath not to reveal what he had said, until he should absolve him from the promise. The old Earl of Hertford seemed to be the person he most feared. From that time till July, Rodney heard no more of that matter, but in that month Seymour called on him to accompany him to the apartment of Arabella at Greenwich, there to be a witness of his marriage. Rodney consented, "nothing doubting

of the King his consent"—a questionable assertion —and the two set off for Greenwich, where they arrived at midnight. They waited till morning, when the marriage was celebrated in the apartment of Arabella, Rodney and two servants being the witnesses. No record of the marriage has been discovered, nor the name of the priest who officiated. The secrecy requisite to the safety of the parties probably is the cause of this. Perhaps at some future time, among dusty records, they may be found.

Like Katherine Grey, Arabella retained her place at Court, and acted precisely as she had done before her marriage. At the creation of Henry Prince of Wales, the Queen gave a masque, at which Arabella represented a nymph of the Trent, and, for the last time in her life, appeared in one of the ridiculous costumes by which the artists of the period endeavoured to represent the old heathen deities. We can imagine the astonishment of Neptune sitting—

> "In Samothracia on a mountain's brow
> Where waving woods o'erhung the deeps below,"

and casting his "azure eyes" on one of his nymphs in the costume which adorned Arabella, and the description of which I transcribe for the amusement of the curious in such matters.

Let us remember Homer's picture of Thetis and

her train, and we shall all the better appreciate the appearance of poor Arabella.

"Her head tire was composed of shells and coral, and from a great murex shell in the form of the crest of an helm, hung a thin waving veil. The upper garments had the boddies of sky coloured taffataes, for lightness, all embroidered with maritime invention. Then had she a kind of half skirt of cloth of silver embroidered with gold, all of the ground work cut out for lightness, which hung down full, and cut in points. Underneath that came a base (of the same as was her body), beneath her knee. Her long skirt was wrought with lace, waved round about like a river, and on the banks sedge and seaweeds, all of gold. Her shoulders were all embroidered with the work of the short skirt of cloth of silver, and had cypress spangled, ruffed out, and fell in a ruff above the elbow. The under sleeves were all embroidered as the bodies. Her shoes were of satin, richly embroidered with the work of the short skirt."*

The secret was not long kept. On the 9th of July Arabella was committed to the custody of Sir Thomas Parry, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. The house was at Lambeth, and is described in *Norden's Survey* as being "opposite a capital mansion called Fauxehall, which was

* Nichols' "King James."

afterwards transferred to Copte Hall." It is called "a capital messuage, bounded by the Thames, being a fair dwelling house, strongly built, of three stories high, and a fair staircase breaking out from it of nineteen feet square." The following is the warrant for the detention of Arabella :—

*Warrant to Sir Thomas Parry.**

"After our verie hartie Comendaçons. Whereas it is thought fit that the La. Arbella should be restrained of her libertie, and choice is made of you to receyve her and lodge her in your house. These are therefore to give you notice thereof, and to require you to provide convenient lodginge for her to remaine under your charge and custodie, with one or two of her woomen to attend her, without accesse of any other persone unto her untille his Majestie's pleasure be further knowen. And this shall be unto you a sufficient warrant. From the Courte at Whitehalle, this 9th of Julie, 1610. Your very loving friendes,

"R. CANT. J. SUFFOLKE.
T. ELESMERE. R. SALISBURY.
NOTTINGHAM. E. WORCESTER.

"To our very lovinge friende Sir Tho : Parry, K^t^ Chancellor of his Majesties Duchy of Lancaster."

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 111.

Seymour was sent to the Tower, where, on his arrival, he was welcomed by the Puritan minister Melvin, with this distich:

> "Communis tecum mihi causa est carceris; Ara-
> Bella tibi causa est, araque sacra mihi."*

Which has been thus translated:

> "From the same cause my woe proceeds and thine:
> Thy altar lovely is, and sacred mine."

While Seymour was sent to the Tower, two servants, named Crompton and Reeve, were imprisoned in the Marshalsea for no other crime than being present at the marriage of their master and mistress. Arabella was especially anxious about Crompton, who was in a weak state of health. "If Crompton should perish," said Earl Gilbert, "the poore ladie would be infinitelie distressed, he being the man in whom she most reposed her trust touching her debts."

Her imprisonment at Lambeth was not rigorous. She was allowed to walk in the garden, to have some of her servants, and even maintain a kind of establishment in the house of Parry. The keepers of both parties were probably kindly disposed and indulgent towards the two lovers, and conveyed letters from one to the other. I have been able to discover none of Seymour's letters, but one remains of Arabella, beautiful in its

* Letter of Dudley Carleton.—Nichols, 2.

womanly feeling and exquisite touch of humour, that strove to cheer the object of her love rather than dwell on her own grief. The following documents show something of the style of her establishment at Lambeth. Her letters to Gilbert show the embarrassed state of her affairs, a trouble from which she never was free.

*Petition from Lady Arabella Seymour to the King.**

"I do most heartily lament my hard fortune that I should offend your Majesty the least, especially in that whereby I have long desired to merit of your Majesty, as appeared before your Majesty was my Sovereign. And though your Majesty's neglect of me, my good liking of this gentleman that is my husband, and my fortune drew me to a contract before I acquainted your Majesty, I humbly beseech your Majesty to consider how impossible it was for me to imagine it could be offensive unto your Majesty, having few days before given me your Royal consent to bestow myself on any subject of your Majesty's (which likewise your Majesty had done long since). Besides, never having been either prohibited any or spoken to for any in this land by

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 57.

your Majesty these 7 years that I have lived in your Majesty's house, I could not conceive that your Majesty regarded my marriage at all; whereas, if your Majesty had vouchsafed to tell me your mind and accept the freewill offering of my obedience, I could not have offended your Majesty, of whose gracious goodness I presume so much that if it were as convenient in a worldly respect as malice may make it seem to separate us whom God hath joined, your Majesty would not do evil that good might come thereof, nor make me, that have the honour to be so near your Majesty in blood, the first precedent that ever was, though our Princes may have left some as little imitable for so good and gracious a King as your Majesty, as David's dealing with Uriah. But I assure myself if it please your Majesty in your own wisdom to consider thoroughly of my cause, there will no solid reason appear to debar me of justice and your princely favour, which I will endeavour to deserve whilst I breathe. And never ceasing to pray for your Majesty's felicity in all things, continue

"Your Majesty's

"A. S."

Request of Lady Arabella Seymour with respect to her Servants, 1610.*

"The Lady Arbella desireth that her servants that are now in the Tower, or so many of them as shall be thought fit to be allowed to her.

That Peter, who attended Mr. Seymour, an ancient servant of hers, may be her bottleman.

To have herewith another servant, an embroiderer, whose name is Roger Hartwoll.

For a woman, she desireth the Lady Chaworth.

Her desire is that Mrs. Yelverton may receive her money and jewels.

That Smyth, her servant, may have access unto her.

There must of necessity be linen bought, both for her wearing, for sheets, and table linen, whereof there is not any amongst her stuff.

She hath xxxij servants, for which some order would be taken."

Arabella next writes on behalf of her servants, and then to her uncle Gilbert and her husband.

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 72.

Petition from Lady Arabella Seymour to the Lords of the Council, 1610.*

"To the right honorable the Lords
of his Majesty's most honorable
privy council.

"RIGHT HONORABLE AND MY VERY GOOD LORDS, I have constrained to trouble you, rather than be guilty of the danger of life wherein Hugh Crompton and Edward Reeves, two of my servants lately committed to the Marshalsea for my cause, remain. I am informed divers near that prison, and in it, are lately dead, and divers others sick of contagious and deadly diseases. Wherefore, I humbly beseech your honours to commiserate their distress and consider that they are servants, and accomptable for divers debts and reckonings, which, if they should die, would be a great prejudice to me and others. And therefore I humbly beseech you to move unto his Majesty my most humble duty and theirs, that it will please his Majesty they may be removed to some other healthful air.

"ARBELLA STUART."

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 92.

Lady Arabella Seymour to the Earl of Shr(ewsbury). Lambeth, July 16th, 1610.*

"If it please your Lordship, there are divers of my servants with whom I thought never to have parted whilst I lived, and none that I am willing to part with. But since I am taken from them, and know not how to maintain, either myself or them, being utterly ignorant how it will please his Majesty to deal with me, I were better to put them away now, than towards winter. Your Lordship knows the greatness of my debts and my unableness to do for them either now or at Michaelmas. I beseech your Lordship let me know what hope you can give me of his Majesty's favour, without which I and all mine must live in great discomfort, and make me so much bound to you as both of yourself and by means of any that you take to be my friends or pity me, to labour the reobtaining of his Majesty's favour to me. So humbly thanking your Lordship for the care it pleaseth you to have of me and mine, and for your honorable offer, I humbly cease. From Lambeth, the 16th July, 1610.

"The poor prisoner, your niece,

"ARBELLA SEYMOUR.

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 71.

"The bay gelding and the rest are at your Lordship's commandment."

*Lady Arabella Seymour to her Husband Mr. William Seymour.**

"Sir,—I am exceeding sorry to hear you have not been well. I pray you let me know truly how you do, and what was the cause of it, for I am not satisfied with the reason Smith gives for it. But if it be a cold, I will impute it to some sympathy betwixt us, having myself gotten a swoln cheek at the same time with a cold. For God's sake, let not your grief of mind work upon your body. You may see by me what inconveniences it will bring one to. And no fortune, I assure you, daunts me so much as that weakness of body I find in myself, for '*si nous vivons l'age d'un veau,*' as Marot says, we may by God's grace be happier than we look for in being suffered to enjoy ourselves with his Majesty's favour. But if we be not able to live to it, I, for my part, shall think myself a pattern of misfortune in enjoying so great a blessing as you so little a while. No separation but that deprives me of the comfort of you; for wheresoever you be, or in what state soever you are, it sufficeth me you are mine.

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 150. Printed in Miss Costello's "Eminent Englishwomen."

Rachel wept, and would not be comforted, because her children were no more; and that indeed is the remediless sorrow, and none else. And therefore God bless us from that, and I will hope well of the rest, though I see no apparent hope. But I am sure God's book mentioneth many of his children in as great distress that have done well after, even in this world. I assure you, nothing the State can do with me can trouble me so much as this news of your being ill doth. And you see when I am troubled, I trouble you too with tedious kindness, for so I think you will account so long a letter, yourself not having written to me for this good while so much as how you do. But sweet sir, I speak not this to trouble you with writing but when you please. Be well, and I shall account myself happy in being your faithful loving wife,

"ARBELLA."

Draft of a Petition from Lady Arabella Seymour to the Lords of the Council, 1610.*

"I humbly beseech your Lordships, now that, by examination of all parties, the error for which we suffer his Majesty's displeasure must needs appear neither greater nor less than it is, to

* Harl. MS. 7003.

give me leave to become an humble suitor to your Lordships, with the relation thereof to testify unto his Majesty my hearty sorrow for his Majesty's displeasure. Restraint from liberty, comfort, and counsel of friends, and all the effects of imprisonment, are in themselves very grievous and inflicted as due punishments for greater offences than mine. But that which makes them most heavy to me is that they proceed from his Majesty's displeasure, whose favour was not only my stay and hope, but greatest joy. If our punishment were to do his Majesty service or honour, I should endure imprisonment and my affliction with patience and alacrity; but being afflicted as a sign of his Majesty's displeasure, it is very grievous for us, whose error we hope his Majesty, in his own gracious disposition, will rather pardon than any further expiate with affliction. And by God's grace the whole course of our life hereafter shall testify our dutiful and humble thankfulness."

The Request of Lady Arabella Seymour with respect to her Servants (1610) *to the Earl of Shrewsbury.**

"I acknowledge myself much bound to your Lordship for your care of disposing of my ser-

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 74.

vants, but I cannot guess what to do with any of them till I know how his Majesty is inclined towards me. Therefore I again very humbly and earnestly beseech your Lordship to move his Majesty at his return to be gracious to me. That according to his Majesty's answer and disposition towards me, I may take order for my servants or anything else concerning me. So with humble thanks I take leave. From Lambeth, 19th July.

"I pray your Lordship remember me humbly to my Aunt."

Queen Anne of Denmark did her best with the King in behalf of Arabella, which will be seen in the next letter.

Lady Arabella Seymour to ——.†*

Good Cousin,—I pray you do me the kindness to present this letter of mine in all humility to her Majesty, and with all my most humble and dutiful thanks for the gracious commiseration it pleaseth her Majesty to have of me, as I hear to my great comfort. I presume to make suit to her Majesty, because if it please her Majesty to

* Probably to Lady Drummond.
† Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 61.

intercede for me, I cannot but hope to be restored to her Majesty's service and his Majesty's favour, whose just and gracious disposition, I verily think, would have been moved to compassion ere this by the consideration both of the cause, in itself honest and lamentable, and of the honour I have to be so near his Majesty and his in blood, but that it is God's will her Majesty should have a hand in so honourable and charitable work as to reobtain his Majesty's favour to one that esteemeth it her greatest worldly comfort. So wishing you all honour and happiness, I take leave, and remain

"Your very loving cousin,

"A. S."

*Lady Arabella Seymour to Lady Drummond.**

"Good Cousin,—I think myself as much beholden to you as if my man had brought me assurance of his Majesty's favours by her Majesty's means, because I find your kindness in remembering me and preventing suspicions. But I cannot rest satisfied till I may know what disaster of mine hindreth his Majesty's goodness towards me, having such a mediatrix to plead so just and honest a cause as mine. Therefore I pray you

Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 70.

with all earnestness let me know freely what hath been done concerning me. So wishing you all honour and happiness, I take leave.

Your

*Lady Jane Drummond to Lady Arabella Seymour.**

"MADAME,—I received your letter, and with it another paper which has just the same words that was in the letter, but your ladyship did not command me to do anything with it, so as I cannot imagine to what use you sent it, always I shall keep it to I know your ladyship's pleasure. Yesterday being Sunday, I could have little time to speak with her Majesty, but this day her Majesty hath seen your ladyship's letter. Her Majesty says that when she gave your ladyship's petition and letter to his Majesty, he did take it well enough, but gave no other answer than that ye had eaten of the forbidden tree; this was all her Majesty commanded me to say to your ladyship in this purpose, but withal did remember her kindly to your ladyship, and sent you this little token in notice of the continuation of her Majesty's favours. Now, when your ladyship desires me to deal openly and freely with you, I protest I can say nothing on knowledge, for I never spake to

* Harl. MS. fol. 64.

any of that purpose but to the queen. But the woedum of this state, with the example of how some of your quality, in the like cause, has been used, makes me fear that ye shall not find so easy end to your trouble as ye expect or I wish. This is all I can say, and I should think myself happy if my notions could give better testimony of my truly being your ladyship's

"Affectionate friend to your service,

"JANE DRUMMOND."

*Lady Arabella Seymour to Lady Drummond.**

"GOOD COUSIN,—I pray you present her Majesty my most humble thanks for the token of the continuance of her Majesty's favour towards me that I received in your letter, which hath so cheered me as I hope I shall be the better able to pass over my sorrow till it please God to move his Majesty's heart to compassion of me, whilst I may thereby assure myself I remain in her Majesty's favour, though all other worldly comforts be withdrawn from me; and will not cease to pray to the Almighty to reward her Majesty for her gracious regard of me in this distress with all happiness to her Royal self and hers. I pray you likewise present her Majesty this piece of my

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 66.

work, which I humbly beseech her Majesty to accept in remembrance of her poor prisoner, her Majesty's most humble servant, that wrought them, in hope those Royal hands will vouchsafe to wear them, which till I have the honour to kiss I shall live in a great deal of sorrow. I must also render you thanks for your so friendly and freely imparting your opinion of my suit. But whereas my good friends may doubt my said suit will be more long and difficult to obtain than they wish, by reason of the wisdom of this State in dealing with others of my quality in the like cause, I say that I never heard nor read of anybody's case that might be truly and justly compared to this of mine, which being truly considered will be found so far differing as there can be no true resemblance made thereof to any others; and so I am assured that both their Majesties (when it shall please them duly to examine it in their Princely wisdoms) will easily discern. And I do earnestly entreat you to move her Majesty to vouchsafe the continuance of her so gracious a beginning on my behalf and to persuade his Majesty to weigh my cause aright, and then I shall not doubt but speedily to receive that Royal grace and favour that my own soul witnesseth I have ever deserved at his hands, and will ever endeavour to deserve of him and his

whilst I have breath. And so with many thanks to yourself for your kind offices, I take leave and rest

"Your very loving Cousin,

"ARBELLA SEYMOUR."

*Lady Arabella Seymour to Queen Anne of Denmark.**

July 22nd, 1610.

"May it please your most Excellent Majesty, since I am debarred the happiness of attending your Majesty or so much as to kiss your Royal hands, to pardon my presumption in presenting your Majesty in this rude form my most humble thanks for your Majesty's gracious favour and mediation to his Majesty for me. Which your Majesty's goodness (my greatest comfort and hope in this affliction) I most humbly beseech your Majesty to continue. So praying to the Almighty to reward your Majesty with all honour and felicity both in your Royal self and yours, in all humility I cease. From Lambeth, the 22nd of July, 1610.

"Your Majesty's

"Most humble and dutiful

"Subject and servant,

"ARBELLA SEYMOUR.

"To the Queen's most Excellent Majesty."

* Lansdowne MS. 1236.

*Lady Arabella Seymour to the Queen.**

"May it please your most Excellent Majesty to consider how long I have lived a spectacle of his Majesty's displeasure, to my unspeakable grief, and out of that gracious disposition which moveth your Royal mind to compassion of the distress, may it please your Majesty to move his Majesty in my behalf. I have presumed to present your Majesty herewith the copy of my humble petition to his Majesty against this time, when the rather I am sure his Majesty forgiveth greater offences as freely as he desires to be forgiven by him whose sacrament he is to receive. Though your Majesty's intercession at any time I know were sufficient. Thus hath my long experience of your Majesty's gracious favour to me and all good causes encouraged me to presume to address myself unto your Majesty, and increased the obligation of my duty in praying continually unto the Almighty for your Majesty's felicity in all things. And in all humility I remain,

"Your Majesty's."

"To the Q."

* Harl. MS. 7003.

The friends of Arabella had sad forebodings. In their allusion to the "dealings with others of her quality in the like cause," they evidently referred to Katherine Grey. It was but too probable that the passive manner in which the English aristocracy had allowed Elizabeth unlawfully to imprison one of their order would have its natural effect on James, and show him that he had nothing to fear from them. Setting aside the strange obtuseness to justice and humanity, we may well marvel at the intense folly of the English nobles on their own account. How could they expect anything but oppression from the crown, and contempt from the people, when they were so utterly blind to the principles on which their own liberties alone could be secured? Who could doubt the result of a contest between souls like these and such men as Cromwell and Hampden?—men who recognised the principle that in the rights of the individual are comprehended the rights of the whole nation. Woe to the country that dares illegally to sacrifice one member for the "public good!" Heavily will that crime be expiated. Arabella again writes to the queen:*—

* State Papers, James, Dom., lvii., fol. 118, MS.

Lady Arabella Seymour to the Queen.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY. I presume to send herewith a copy of my humble petition to the King's Majesty, whereby your Majesty may perceive (with less trouble than any other relation of mine) as much (in effect) as I can say of the condition of my present estate and hard fortune. Now to whom so fitly address myself with confidence of help and mediation as to your Royal person (the mirror of our sex)? and being for me, your Majesty's humble and devoted servant, and in a cause of this nature, so full of piety and commiseration, I will wholly rely upon your Princely goodness, whom I humbly beseech to vouchsafe to enter into a gracious consideration of the true estate of my case and fortune, and then I nothing doubt but that in the true nobleness of your Royal mind your Majesty will be pleased to mediate for me in such sort as in your most Princely wisdom and favour the same shall be moved. And I shall always pray for the everlasting honour and felicity of your Majesty with all your Royal issue in all things, and will remain for ever, your Majesty's most humble and dutiful subject and servant,

"ARBELLA STUART."

*Lady Arabella Seymour to Lord ——.**

"My Lord,—The nobleness of your nature and the good opinion it hath pleased your Lordship to hold of me heretofore, emboldeneth me to beseech your Lordship to enter into consideration of my distress, and to be touched with the misery I am in for want of his Majesty's favour, whose clemency and mercy is such that if it would please you to make my grief known, and how nearly it toucheth my heart that it hath been my hard fortune to offend his Majesty, I cannot doubt but it would gain me both mitigation of the hard doom, and mercy in some measure to yield comfort to my soul, overwhelmed with the extremity of grief which hath almost brought me to the brink of the grave. I beseech your Lordship deal so with me as my prayer may gain you God's reward, for his sake, though it be but a cup of cold water, I mean any small hope of intercession of his Majesty's displeasure shall be most thankfully received by me. And I doubt not but if it please your Lordship to try your excellent gift of speech, his Majesty will lend a gracious ear to your Lordship, and I shall rest ever bound to pray for your Lordship's hap-

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 104.

piness, who now myself rest the most unfortunate and afflicted creature living.

"A. S."

Petition from Lady Arabella Seymour to the Lords of the Council. (1610.)*

"I humbly beseech your Lordships give me leave to become an humble suitor to your Lordships to let his Majesty understand my hearty sorrow for his Majesty's displeasure. And that it will please your Lordships to become intercessors to his Majesty for me, whose error I assuredly hope his Majesty of his own gracious disposition will, by your Lordships' good means, rather pardon than any further expiate with imprisonment and affliction. Which and more, if it were to do his Majesty service or honour, I should endure with alacrity; but this is very grievous, especially as a sign of his Majesty's displeasure, on whose favour all my worldly joy as well as fortune dependeth. Which, if I may reobtain, all the course of my life hereafter shall testify my dutiful and humble thankfulness.

"Arbella Seymour."

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 9. There is also a copy of this letter among the State Papers.

The next letter is from Seymour to the Privy Council, asking for the liberty or range of the Tower grounds on account of his health.

Draft of A Petition from Mr. William Seymour to the Lords of the Council. (1610.)*

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS. Since his Majesty is so highly offended with me that I dare not as yet (fearing farther to incur his Majesty's disfavour) offer any manner of petition to his Princely hands, before the way be made more easy, I only address my self to your honorable Lordships, being now bereft of my nearest friends, through his Majesty's indignation, humbly beseeching you to be intercessors to his Majesty, that it would please him of his gracious and accustomed bounty to restore me to his most wished for favour and my former liberty; or if that may seem too large a suit, that it would please his Majesty in the meantime to grant me the liberty of this place, to the recovering of my former health, which through my long and close imprisonment is much decayed, and will not easily, I fear me, be repaired, whereof the Lieutenant can well certify your Lordships. I must

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 113.

confess I have offended his Majesty, which is my greatest sorrow, yet I hope not in that measure that should deserve my utter ruin and destruction, since I protest my offence was committed before I knew it to be an offence. Wherefore I humbly beseech your Lordships, since the bottom of this wound is searched, to be a means that it may be healed. Thus relying on your Lordships' honorable dispositions, I humbly take my leave, resting all ways

"To be commanded to yr Lordships,

"W. S."

Lady Arabella Seymour to —— *

"Sir,—Though you be almost a stranger to me but only by sight, yet the good opinion I generally hear to be held of your worth, together with the great interest you have in my Lord of Northampton's favour, makes me thus far presume of your willingness to do a poor afflicted gentlewoman that good office (if in no other respect, yet because I am a Christian,) as to further me with your best endeavours to his Lordship, that it will please him to help me out of this great distress and misery, and regain me his Majesty's favour, which is my chiefest desire.

* Cott. MS. Vesp. F. 3, fol. 35.

Wherein his Lordship may do a deed acceptable to God and honourable to himself, and I shall be infinitely bound to his Lordship and beholden to you, who now, till I receive some comfort from his Majesty, rest the most sorrowful creature living,

"ARBELLA SEYMOUR."

*Lady Arabella Stuart to the Lords of the Council.**

"May it please your Lordships to give me leave to be an humble suitor to you, that whereas upon his Majesty's pleasure I was restrained of my liberty, and that I have presumed to prefer my most humble petition to his Majesty to be restored unto his gracious good favour again, which is my greatest comfort on earth, your Lordships will be pleased to prefer my said petition to his most gracious Majesty's hands. And if your Lordships will also vouchsafe your favourable intercession of my offence, and be a means to his Majesty on my behalf, I shall be infinitely bound to pray for your honour and prosperity, and remain humbly

"At your Lordships' Commandments."

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 1610.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DEPARTURE FOR DURHAM.

MOURNFUL as was the condition of Arabella, could she have foreseen what awaited her, she would have looked on it as happiness indeed. She had had the liberty of the house and grounds, five servants of her own to attend upon her, and by whose means she doubtless obtained much that she might have sought in vain of strangers. She not only corresponded, but even, it is said, by the kindness of the jailors, her husband was allowed stolen interviews with her. But this was too much for the tyrant. Something was discovered that determined him to put a stop to all chance of meeting, and he ordered Arabella into the custody of the Bishop of Durham.

The following letter of James contains the expression of that amiable monarch's feeling towards his unhappy cousin. A warrant was also sent by the Lords of the Council to Sir Thomas Parry to

deliver up his charge. £300 were awarded him in "full satisfaction of all such money as he had disbursed for diet, lodging, and five of her servants during the seven months she had been with him.* £200 were also ordered to pay her expenses to Durham."†

A Royal Warrant to the Bishop of Durham, Committing the Lady Arabella Seymour to his custody. Royston, March 13, 1610.‡

"James R.,—Right Reverend Father in God, and trusty and wellbeloved, we greet you well: Whereas our Cousin the Lady Arabella hath highly offended us in seeking to marry herself without our knowledge (to whom she had the honour to be near in blood) and in proceeding afterwards to A full conclusion of A Marriage with the self same person whom (for many just causes) we had expressly forbidden her to marry, after he had in our presence and before our Council forsworn all interest as concerning her, either past or present, with solemn protestations upon his allegiance in her hearing never to renew any such motion again.

* Devon's Pell Records, p. 121. † Ibid., 128.

‡ Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 94. Printed in Halliwell's "Letters of the Kings of England."

"Forasmuch as it is more necessary for us to make some such demonstration now of the just sense and feeling we have after so great an Indignity offered unto us, as may make others know by her example that no respect of personal affection can make us neglect those considerations wherein both the honour and order of the state is interested.

"We have therefore thought good, out of trust in your fidelity and discretion, to remit to your Care and Custody the person of our said Cousin; requiring and authorizing you hereby to carry her down in your company to any house of yours as unto you shall seem best and most convenient, there to remain in suche sort as shall be set down to you by directions from the Council, or any six of those to whom we have both declared our pleasure for the manner of her restraint, and have also given in charge upon conference with you to take order for all things necessary either for her health or otherwise; this being the difference between us and her. That whereas she hath abounded towards us in disobedience and ingratitude, we are (on the contrary) still apt to temper the severity of justice with grace and favour towards her, as may well appear by the course wee have taken to commit her only to your custody in whose house she may be well assured to receive

all good usage, and bear more fruit and exercise of religion and virtue than in many other places. For all which this shall be your sufficient warrant.

"From Royston, this 13th of March, 1610."

Copy of a Warrant to Sir Thomas Parry, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, from the Lords of the Council, ordering him to convey the Lady Arabella Seymour to the Bishop of Durham, Whitehall, 15th March, 1610.*

"After our verie hartie comendacions. Whereas it hath pleased his Matie by Letters under his royall Signature to give order to the right reverend father in God, the Bishop of Durhame, to receave into his charge the person of the Ladie Arbella Seymoure to be carried down and conveyed from hence in his companie to such house of his as shall seem best and most convenient, there to remayne in such sort, and according to such Direccones as are contained in the said letters. Forasmuch as she was comitted to y^r^ charge by his Maties comandm^t^, and that it is meete the like order be taken for yor discharge:

"These are therefore to will and require you,

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 98.

accordinge to his Ma^es^t good pleasure in that behalf, to deliver the person of the said Ladie unto our verie good Lord the Bishop of Durham, to be by him conveyed as aforesaid, which we require you to perform this present Friday, for which this shall be sufficient warrant. And we bid you heartilie farewell.

"From Whitehall, the 15th of March, 1610.

"Your verie lovinge Friends,

T. Ellesmere. H. Northampton. Lenox.
R. Salisbury. Gilb. Shrewsbury.
T. Suffolk. W. Knowlles.
E. Worcester. Jul. Cæsar."
E. Wootton.

The thought of so hopeless a distance between herself and Seymour rendered Arabella desperate. Once away from London, she was severed from every chance of a fair hearing. The King's orders showed plainly that no hope of justice was to be expected from him, and the life-long captivity of Katherine Grey rose in terrible warning before Arabella. She felt that a crisis had arisen, and she resolved to make an appeal to the laws of her country. By them, "no person could be committed to prison but by a legal warrant, specifying his offence, and by a usage nearly tantamount to constitutional rights, he must be

speedily brought to trial by means of regular sessions of gaol delivery. The fact of guilt or innocence on a criminal charge was determined in a public court, and in the county where the offence was alleged to have occurred, by a jury of twelve men, from whose unanimous verdict no appeal could be made. The officers and servants of the crown violating the personal liberty or other right of the subject, might be sued in an action for damages to be assessed by a jury, or in some cases were liable to criminal process, nor could they plead any warrant or command in their justification, not even the dread command of the King."

These laws, solemnly sworn to by James at his coronation, were now deliberately broken, and that openly in the face of the country. Not a single person uttered the slightest remonstrance, or appeared to see any injustice in separating a husband and wife and keeping them in hopeless captivity. But Arabella contrived, probably through the instrumentality of her faithful servants, to make the following appeal to the Chief Justices of England.

In our day, such a call, if uttered by the meanest subject, would ring through the length and breadth of the land; yet some persons still talk of the "good old times."

Lady Arabella Seymour to the Lord Chief Justice of England and the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. 1611.*

My Lords,—Whereas I have been long restrained from my liberty, which is as much to be regarded as my life, and am appointed, as I understand, to be removed far from these Courts of Justice, where I ought to be examined, tried, and then condemned or cleared, to remote parts, whose Courts I hold unfitter for the trial of my offence: this is to beseech your Lordships to inquire by an Habeas Corpus or other usual form of law what is my fault; and if, upon examination by your Lordships, I shall thereof be justly convicted, let me endure such punishment by your Lordships' sentence as is due to such an offender. And if your Lordships may not or will not of yourselves grant unto me the ordinary relief of a distressed subject, then I beseech you become humble intercessors to his Majesty that I may receive such benefit of justice as both his Majesty, by his oath, those of his blood not excepted, hath promised, and the laws of this Realm afford to all others. And though, unfortunate woman that I am, I should obtain neither, yet I

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 152.

beseech your Lordships retain me in your good opinion, and judge charitably till I be proved to have committed any offence, either against God or his Majesty, deserving so long restraint or separation from my lawful husband. So praying for your Lordships, I rest

"Your afflicted poor suppliant,

"A. S."

The appeal was disregarded utterly. Not a gentleman throughout England was found to take up or plead the justice of her cause. That this was so, can only be accounted for by supposing the Englishmen of that day to have been in that mechanical state, that phase alluded to by Mr. Buckle, when he speaks of nations as passing through peculiar stages of feeling. The stage in the reign of James I. was one of the vilest servility and cowardice—baseness from which no men seem to have been exempt; a stage which allowed such a mind as Bacon to call a king "a god upon earth," and compelled the poor prisoners to feel that the only faint hope of redress lay in telling the King that their sufferings arose, not from loss of liberty or health, or any precious thing, but from "the loss of his Majestie's favour." Perhaps among the whole of the State Papers of the reign of James I. there is to be found no appeal so free,

so worthy of a high mind, as the above letter of Arabella. It stands alone even among her own papers. Her letters to the King are all disguised in the prevalent language of the time, the garb which she felt was demanded by the base spirit to whom they were addressed. But in the letter to the Chief Justices she has cast off all fear, shows her true spirit, and demands her rights as an English subject, in language and style worthy of the present day. Such a letter, now, would hurl a king from his throne, unless he yielded; it would arouse a nation, who would with one impulse overwhelm the sufferer with indignant sympathy. Let those who cast such lingering, hankering glances towards past ages, who speak of England as in a state of decadence, look back to that happy time, and remembering that *not a single voice* was heard in reply to the appeal of Arabella Stuart, pause ere they draw comparisons unfavourable to the present.

The Lords of the Council, so far from giving the slightest ear to justice, lent their aid without reserve to the tyranny of James. So little notice had been given, that due preparations had not been made for the journey, yet such was the hurry of James to get Arabella out of the way of Seymour and of London, that he allowed no delay on that account. Barnet, the first stage, could not be

reached, but Highgate could, and thither she was instantly to depart. The following warrant was to find her a lodging for the night:—

*A Letter from the Lords of the Council to Sir William Bond, requesting him to give the Lady Arabella a Night's Lodging, Whitehall, 15th March, 1610.**

"Sir William Bond,—Forasmuch as there is some occasion to make provision for one night's lodginge for the La. Arabella, in respect that she cannot convenientlie recover Barnett, some things being wantinge for her journey this afternoone, contrairie to her expectation, we have thought good to entreate you not to refuse such a courtesie as the lendinge of a couple of your chambers for hir La., because wee doubte the Innes there are full of inconvenience. By doinge whereof ye shall give us cause to report well of you to his Matie. And so wee comitt you to God.

"Att Whitehall, the 15th of March, 1610.

"Your loving Frends,

"R. Salisbury. J. Suffolk.
Nottingham. Gilb. Shrewsbury.
E. Worcester. Jul. Cæsar."
H. Northampton.

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 102.

On the 16th of March, at eight in the morning, the Bishop of Durham went to Sir Thomas Parry's to receive his unhappy charge, carrying with him the King's letters ordering her departure. Her agony was unspeakable. Cold drops burst from her forehead;* her brain seemed as if it would give way; probably then she received a blow which laid the foundation of after sufferings. The Bishop did all in his power to soothe her. She demanded a sight of the King's letters. He showed them immediately, and "used all the poor skill" he had to persuade her to resignation. He recounted to her the lives of patient saints, of less fortunate prisoners, adding exhortations of his own in the presence of "Mr. Chancellor, Mr. Doctor Moundford, and others," who doubtless joined their arguments to his.

But for the "sudden wrench from all we love," what consolation can be offered even when it is unavoidable, or inflicted by the just hand of death! How then can the high and intense spirit endure it when it is the effect of unprovoked tyranny and unmerited suspicion! Such a soul as that of Arabella cannot sink passively. Resignation is unknown, and the heart is impelled by its inward force to make war till death against the remorse-

* Letter of the Bishop of Durham to the Council. State Papers, James, Dom., lxii., fol. 30, MS.

less agents of its cruel destiny. The misery of her feelings utterly overcame the physical strength of the prisoner. Dr. Moundford, the physician, was obliged to administer cordials three times to prevent her from fainting on the way from Lambeth to Highgate. Between ten and eleven they reached Highgate, where she was lifted from her litter in a state resembling death. The Bishop "being somewhat distempered himself," could not do more, just then, than speak a few words of attempted comfort as she was carried to the house of Sir William Bond, who received her with "especiall care both of her and such as were about her." Till midnight she remained in the same state, when she sunk into the exhausted but unrefreshing sleep that for a few hours will steep a heavy grief in the temporary oblivion of stupefaction. When she awoke, she declared her utter inability to obey the King's orders, and continue her journey to Barnet. The Bishop came to her bedside with exhortations and persuasions to rise, telling her of "the sweet day, and air, and duty of her journey." But the doctor, who took "careful and diligent pains about her," declared her total unfitness to proceed. The Bishop then asked her whether she would be pleased to hear prayers, and on her assenting, he immediately offered to say them himself, and to prepare a sermon

for the next day; but the offices of religion were deferred, even by a Bishop, to the respect due to the King. Arabella had to wait for her religious consolation till the Bishop had written a letter to the Privy Council, minutely detailing the journey, and asking for further directions. Doctor Moundford, who was greatly touched and alarmed at the state of his patient, wrote also to one of the Lords of the Council on the subject. James sent his own physician, Dr. Hammond,* less from a kind motive than with a view to discover whether or not the illness of Arabella was feigned,—a suspicion which greatly troubled him. Dr. Hammond had some private talk with the Bishop and Dr. Moundford, who assured him of the reality of her illness, and then waited on Arabella, with whom he was before acquainted. She received him with that gracious manner which won all who approached her, and which had not forsaken her, even in her present state of mental and bodily suffering. He felt her pulse, talked with her as to the cause of her illness, and prescribed medicine, which he probably knew to be a farce. Dr. Moundford, as was necessary, promised to obey the royal physician, but remarked privately, "I am sure that by neither of this (feeling her pulse and giving medicine) he

* Letter of Dr. Moundford. Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 106.

can warrant either amendment of her health or contynuance of lyfe if some contentment of minde be not gained." He said that he would administer Hammond's prescription "with all dewe respect," when time and opportunity should be afforded, but that in the meantime he preferred administering cordials. It was not without some fear that he administered stimulants in Arabella's excited state, but he preferred the risk of "cherishing her to life," to letting her sink from exhaustion, saying how vain it was to expect all circumstances incident to the perfect recovery of such an imperfect body.

On the 21st of March, Arabella, apparently no better, was obliged by the King's orders to remove from Highgate to Barnet. During the ride of six miles they were forced to stop five or six times, on account of the ghastly sickness with which she was overcome; and it was only by Dr. Moundford administering the best cordials which he had had the precaution to prepare and bring with him, that she was enabled to reach her journey's end. Helpless as an infant, she was carried to bed in the house of Thomas Conyers, Esq., a gentleman of East Barnet. The Bishop, who seems to have been in the utmost dread of displeasing the King, immediately wrote to the Council describing her state. The postmaster, with strange impertinence,

declared the letter came after the usual time, and refused to send a special messenger. The Bishop was therefore compelled to send his own servant to say, that though there was no knowing what a night's rest might bring forth, yet Dr. Moundford declared that she could not safely travel.* Dr. Moundford wrote the same day to Earl Gilbert to the same effect, declaring her illness and weakness to be alarmingly increased. Earl Gilbert, though a member of the Privy Council, had no influence whatever in her favour; nay, as a member of that body, he was obliged to sign all the hard decrees issued against his niece. "I can doe her very small service more than by my prayers," he says, when after vainly trying to move the King, James told him coarsely "that it was enough to make any sound man sick to be carried in a bed in that manner she is, much more for her whose impatient and unquiet spirits heapeth upon herself far greater indisposition of body."

Moundford also wrote to Mary, the wife of Gilbert, who, though she appears to have been cold to her niece heretofore, now manifested great sympathy and anxiety on her account. Gilbert begged Dr. Moundford to write to his wife, there-

* Letter of the Bishop of Durham to the Council. State Papers, James, Dom., lxii., fol. 39, MS.

fore, and assure her that no news was always good news.

At Barnet, Dr. Hammond visited Arabella again. He found her weak, with a dull and melancholy pulse, her countenance very heavy, pale and wan, though free from fever and specific bodily disease. A little respite was granted, and she was told "in no case to trouble herself till restored to some better strength both of mind and body."

A month's stay at Barnet to recruit her health was granted. The Bishop departed to Durham, probably to make some preparations, and Arabella was confided to the care of Sir James Crofts. Earl Gilbert wrote soothing letters, telling her that the "greatest, nearest, and wisest" about the King are of opinion that "his Majesty's disfavour and her imprisonment will not last long." Her servants, however, were taken away, probably from suspicion, and it is to this that she alludes in the second of the following letters, thanking the King for the month's grace :—

*Petition from Lady Arabella Seymour to the Lords of the Council.** 1610.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS,—I protest I

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 147.

am in so weak case, as I verily think it would be the cause of my death to be removed any whither at this time, though it were to a place to my liking. My late discomfortable journey, which I have not yet recovered, had almost ended my days, and I have never since gone out of a few little and hot rooms, and am many ways unfit to take the air. I trust your Lordships will not look I should be so unchristian as to be the cause of my own death, and I leave it to your Lordships' wisdom to consider what the world would conceive if I should be violently enforced to do it. Therefore I beseech your Lordships to be humble suitors in my behalf, that I may have some time given me to recover my strength, which I should the sooner do if I were not continually molested. And I will hope and pray that God will incline his Majesty's heart every way to more compassion towards me, who rest

"Very humbly at your
"Lordships' command,
"A. S."

*Lady Arabella Seymour to the King.** 1610.

"May it please your most Excellent Majesty graciously to accept my most humble thanks for

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 89.

these halcyon days it hath pleased your Majesty to grant me. And since it hath pleased your Majesty to give this testimony of willingness to have me live awhile, in all humility I beg the restitution of those comforts without which every hour of my life is discomfortable to me, the principal whereof is your Majesty's favour, which none that breathes can more highly esteem than I, who whilst I live will not cease to pray to the Almighty for your Majesty's prosperity and rest.

"Your Majesty's most humble
"And faithful, almost ruined
"Subject and servant,
"ARBELLA S."

On his way to Durham, the Bishop stopped at Royston, where James was, as usual, engaged in hunting. The King immediately sent for him, and asked after Arabella. The Bishop then described her condition, and added the usual wretched cant about the loss of the King's favour, telling him of "the grief which she conceived of his Majesty's indignation, and of her hearty and zealous prayers for him and his, and of her willingness, if it might be so, to *sweep his chamber*," all of which the King summoned Prince Henry to hear. The Bishop sent a letter full of good advice and messages to Arabella, counselling submission and

holding out hopes of the King's mercy, which, as it was dependent on her renunciation of her husband, was of course no consolation to her at all. It was of little use for the good man to tell her to "submit herself unto the will of her God and of her Sovereign," when he said at the same time, "I pray God the noble lady and wee may in good time meet in the *north*."

As the month's end drew nigh, Mynors, one of her keepers, was called before the Privy Council, and though he said that Arabella was still in a weak state, he was told by these heroic Englishmen that it was the King's absolute resolution she should go directly to Durham, for which she must immediately prepare, although she travelled by ever such short stages. They said, for her consolation, that she was not to stay long in Durham, and that his Majesty was acting "only for her good," a statement which she could by no means receive and act upon.

But either the month's grace failed, or Arabella succeeded in feigning so as to deceive even the keen physician of the King. Ill she undoubtedly was; that she was not too ill to travel, however, is proved by her after actions. The 28th of April was the day now appointed for her departure; but as that time arrived, she manifested but little amendment. On the 17th of April Sir James

Crofts wrote to the Lords of the Council for directions about the journey, what servants were to be taken, and what means to be had for defraying the expenses of the journey. She had become "by means of rest, joined with some kind of physic that had been ministered to her, somewhat better and more lightsome than heretofore." Still by the 17th of April, she had not walked the length of her bedchamber. Whenever Sir James Crofts went to see her, he found her stretched on the bed dressed, and apparently stupefied with grief. She "apprehended nothing but fear and anger in the most ugliest forms, conceiting always the worst and much worse than can any way happen to her of danger." She did not refuse to go to Durham, or to place herself at the disposal of the King. The "horrors of her utter ruin," says Crofts, "and end, which hourly present themselves to her phantasy, occasioned by the remoteness of the place whereunto she must go, driveth her to utter despair. To live out one only year, where otherwise if she were left, her ladyship says, in some convenient place, not so clean out of the world as she termeth Durham, she could gather to herself some weak hopes of more gentle fortune time to come."*

Crofts had a difficult task. The "best and

* Letter of Sir James Crofts to the Council. State Papers, James, Dom., MS.

pleasingest discourse" on his side gave her no manner of satisfaction at all, and was met by tears and lamentations, and bitter longing for him whom she saw parted from her for ever.

When the month was up, she was so little able to undertake her journey, that Dr. Moundford himself went to London and asked an audience of the King in order to obtain another month's grace. Dr. Hammond seconded his petition, declaring before the Privy Council, the Prince of Wales, and the King, Arabella's utter unfitness to travel. The King complained of her "obstinacie," declaring "that to Durham she should go if he were King." Moundford said he had no doubt of her obedience. "That obedience is what I require," said the King, "and being procured, I will do more for her than she expecteth." After much pleading, another month was granted, chiefly, Moundford declared, through the eloquence of Arabella's own letters, one of which was read more than once with the applause of the Prince and Council. The following is the letter in question :—

*Draft of a Petition from the Lady Arabella Stuart to the King.**

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY. Though it hath pleased God to lay so many heavy crosses upon me, as I account myself the most

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 79.

miserable creature living, yet none is so grievous to me as the loss of your Majesty's favour, which it appeareth not so much to my unspeakable grief in any other effect of it. Though the least of many it hath already brought forth is sufficient for my utter ruin, as in that your Majesty giveth credence (as I hear) to those sinister reports which impute that to my obstinacy, which proceeded merely out of necessity, not willing that I might be thought guilty of hastening my own death by any voluntary action of mine, having first endeavoured by all good means to make my extreme weakness known to your Majesty. But nothing availing me, certainly I had suddenly perished if your Majesty had not speedily had compassion of me in granting me this time of stay for my recovery, to which if it may please your Majesty of your gracious goodness to add 3 weeks more, Mr. Doctor Moundford hopes I may recover so much strength as may enable me to travel. And I shall ever be willing whilst I breathe to yield your Majesty most humble and dutiful obedience as to my Sovereign, for whose felicity for ever in all things I cease not to pray, and in all fortunes rest your Majesty's most humble and faithful subject and servant, "A. S."

[In the MS. this letter is marred, crossed, and blotted, as if written in a state of distraction.]

With the following letter from Lady Chandos, and a curious account of Arabella's expenses, I shall close the chapter of her stay at Barnet.

*Lady Chandos to Doctor Moundford.**

"Doctor Moundford,—I desire the widow's prayer with my humble service may, by you, be presented to the Lady Arbella, who I hope God will so fortify her mind, as she will take this cross with such patience as may be to his pleasing, who, as this day signifies, took upon him a great deal more for us; and when he seeth time, he will send comfort to the afflicted. I pray you, if you want for the honorable Lady what is in this house, that you will send for it, for most willingly the master and mistress of the house would have her Ladyship command. If the drink do like my Lady, spare not to send. The Knight and my daughter remember their kind commendations unto yourself, so I commit you to God, and rest as your friend,

"Frances Chandos."

Bill of Expenses.

"Allowed for money payde for Dyett, lodginge and other necessarie chardge and expences of the said ladye Arbella Seymour, and such persons as

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 109. Printed in Miss Costello's "Eminent Englishwomen."

were appointed to attend her in her journey into the Countie Palatyne of Duresme, as hereafter followeth :—

"At Highgate for sixe dayes begonne xvth daye of Marche, 1610, and ended the xxjst of the same month, on wch day her ladishipp removed to Barnet . . . . . xviij^{li} v^{s} iij^{d}.

"At Barnett xj dayes begonne the xxjst of Marche, 1610, and ended the first of Aprill, 1611, being that daye removed to Estbarnett lxxj^{li} v^{s} viij^{d}.

"Chardges of the Stable for the xvij dayes above menconed . . . . . xxxviij^{li} x^{s} ix^{d}.

"Lodginge of some of the retinewe of the lady Arbella and the said lorde Bishopp, and for other necessaries duringe the xvij dayes aforesaid . . . . . xi^{li} xix^{s}.

"Ryding and postinge chardges, viz.—for post-horses from Lambeth to Highgate, and from thence to Barnett. To Mr. Beeston and others for their chardges three severall tymes to Barnett from London and from Highgate. To the servauntes of the lord bishp. of Duresme, sente at severall tymes to the lordes of the Councell, and for other busi[illegible]esses concerninge this service; and to Sir James Crofte, Knight, for the chardges of himselfe, his men, and horses attendinge at London in this service . ix^{li} xviij^{s} xj^{d}.

"Rewardes to sondrye p'rsons, viz., to messengers

sent from the Courte during the staye of the Lorde Bishopp at Highgate and Barnett. To diverse p'rsons who tooke paynes at Highgate and Barnett. Geven to the Inne for glasses broken, and in rewardes to the meaner servauntes at Barnett, xxx^{s} &c. In all the some of . . . . . xij^{li} ix^{s} vj^{d}.

" Also allowed to the sayde Accomptaunte for money by his own handes yssued and payde in this service from the time of her ladishipps removinge from the Inne in Barnett to the house of Thomas Conyers, Esquir, at Estbarnett, as hereafter is menconed:

Expences of dyett for the lady Arbella, her servauntes and others appointed to attende her at Estbarnett, by the space of lxviij dayes begonne the first of April, 1611, and ended the vijth of June following, at cix^{s} iij^{d} p'r diem . . . . . ccclxxj^{li} xj^{s} v^{d}.

" Chardges of the Stable, viz.—for three lytter horses, one sumpter horse, and fyve corbe horses for xxvj dayes at ij^{s} the horse by daye and night. For the Stable at Estbarnett, for lxviij dayes begonne the firste of Aprill, 1611, and ended the vij of June following: and for hyer of a coche of Thomas Webster employed in this service by the space of xxiij dayes, at xx^{s} per diem . . . . . lxxvij^{li} vi^{s} ix^{d}.

"Boardwages of Cochemen, Lyttermen, and Sumpter-man, and their men at viij^{s} and iij^{s} iij^{d} each per diem . . . . . l^{li} x^{s}.

"Enterteynement to sondrye p'rsons appointed to attende the said lady Arbella Seymour. To Nicholas Pay this accomptaunte xxxv^{li} x^{s}. To William Lewen for his attendaunce in the office of caterer of poultrye at iij^{s} per diem, for himselfe and his horse. To Richard Mathewe for his attendance in the butterye and pantrye at iij^{s} per diem, for himself and his horse. To Thomas Mylles for his attendaunce in the larder and kitchen at iij^{s} per diem, for himselfe and his horse . . . . . lxvj^{li} ij^{s}.

"To rydinge and posting-chardges, viz. of Henry Minors, at severall tymes from Barnett to Whitehall and backe againe for direccons in this service from the lordes of the privie Councell xxxv^{s}, and for post horses to carye the ladye Arbella Seymour her servauntes from Barnett to London xvij^{s}. For the hier of horses at severall tymes for Sr James Crofte betweene Barnett and London in attendinge the lordes of the Councell in this service . xliiij^{li} xij^{s}.

"For caryadges for removing the ladie Arbella and her companie from Lambeth to Highgate, and from thence to Barnet, &c. . lxxviij^{li} xv^{s}.

"In rewardes to sondrye p'rsons, viz. to the ser-

vauntes in Mr. Conyers house and labourers to make clean the house, &c. . . . . iij^{li} xv^{s}.

"To Mathias Melwarde, one of the Princes chaplaynes for his paynes in attending the ladye Arbella Seymour to preache and reade prayers during her abode at Estbarnett . . . . v^{li}.

"Houserent paid to Thomas Conyers, Esquier, for the rent of his house in Estbarnett for the lady Arbella Seymour and her companie for x weekes at xx^{s} the week . . . . . x^{li}.

"Payde out of the Receipte of the Exchequier to thandes of the ladye Arbella Seymour for her own furnishinge in her journey into the Bishoprycke of Durham . . . . . cc^{li}.

"Money payde to Thomas Moundeford, Doctor of physicke and an Apothecarye appointed by order of the lordes of the privie Councell to geve their attendaunce uppon the saide lady Arbella, viz. for the enterteynement of the saide Doctor Moundeforde for cli dayes begonne the viijth of Februarie 1610 and ended the vijth of Julie following 1611 at xxx^{s} per diem . . . . . ccxxv^{li}.

"For the enterteynement of his Apothecarye for ninety dayes at xiij^{s} iiij^{d} per diem . . . lx^{li}.

"For twoe cabbanetts furnished wth thinges necessary and used in the tyme of the saide lady Arbella for sycknes . . . . . xij^{li}.

"For chardges of horsehier and other expences of the said Doctor Moundeford . . . iij^{li}.

"Payde to Sir James Crofte, Knighte, appoynted by order from the lordes of the privie Councell to geve his attendaunce uppon the saide Arbella Seymour for his enterteynement at xxx^{s} per diem . . . . . clj^{li} x^{s}.

"Some Tottall of the Allowances and paymentes . . . . . M.clijviij^{li} viij^{s} x^{d}.

"R. SALISBURY.
JUL. CÆSAR."*

"The Accompte of the Lorde Byshopp of Durham for ccc^{l} receaved for the chardge of the Ladye Arbella Seymour comytted to his safe kepinge wth an intencon to have caryed into the Bysshoprycke of Duresme, there to have remained under his chardge duringe the Kynge's ma^{ts} pleasure, vizt. betweene the xiiijth of Marche 1610, in the viij year of his highnes raigne and the last daye of the same moneth as followeth:

viz.:

"Readye money receaved, viz.
of
"The Threasorer and under thres. of Th' exchequer in

* "Notes and Queries," vol. i. 1st Series. Contributed by Peter Cunningham, Esq.

Mychas terme in the viijth yeare of the Kinge's ma^{ts} raigne by thandes of Thomas Wattson, Esquire, one of the Tell^{rs} for the chardges of himselfe and his servaunts in his jorney to the saide Ladye Arbella Seymour by pvie Seale, dated the xiij of March, 1610, and Lres of the Lordes of the Councelle . . cccl^{li}. Whereof

"*Expences of dyett and other chardges of the Ladye Arbella Seymour and others attending upon her, viz.:—*

"*Expences of dyett.*

"At Highgate for sixe dayes, begonne the xvth daye of Marche, 1610, and ended the xxjst of the same moneth, on wch daye her Ladyshippe removed to Barnett . . . . xviij*li* v*s* iij*d*

"At Barnett for xj dayes, begonne xxjst of Marche, 1610, at Supper, and ended the firste of Aprill, 1611, at breakefaste, beinge that daye removed to Eastbarnett . . lxxj*li* v*s* viij*d*.

"Charges of ye Stable, viz.:—

"Chardges of the Stable for the xvij dayes above-menconed, viz., at Highgate for vj dayes, ix*li* xvij*s* x*d*, and at Barnett for xj dayes, with v*s* for dressinge one of the lytter horses xxviij*li* xij*s* xj*d*; in all the some of . . . . . xxxviij x*s* ix*d*

"Lodginge and other necessaries, viz.:—

"Lodginge of some of the retinewe of the Lady Arbella and the sayde Lord Bysshop, viz., Highgate, xx*s*, and at Barnett, viij*s*; in all . . . „ xxviij*s* „

"Fyer lightes and other nessces, wth the lodginge of the saide Lorde Bysshoppe and some of his servauntes at Highgate and Barnett during the xvij dayes aforesaid . . . xj*li* xj*s* „

"Rydinge and postinge chardges, viz., for post-horses from Lambeth to Highgate xxxiiij*s* iiij*d*, and from thence to Barnett, xxxiiij*s* ix*d*. Mr. Beeston

and others for there chardges three severall tymes to Barnett from London and from Highgate, xlj*s* iiij*d*, the servauntes of the Lorde Byshoppe of Durham, sent at severall tymes to the Lordes of the Councell, and for other busynesses concerning this servyce xlvj*s* iiij*d*, and to Sir James Crofe, Knight, for the chardges of himselfe, his men and horses, from Monday to Wednesday night, attendinge at London for this service, xlj*s* vij*d*; in all ix*li* xviij*s* vj*d*

" Rewardes to sondrye psons, viz., to messengers sent from the Courte duringe the staye of the Lorde Bysshoppe at Highgate and Barnett, xxxix*s* vj*d*. Dyverse psons whoe tooke paynes at those twoe places, vij*li* xij*s* vj*d*; given in the Ynne for glasses broken and in rewardes to the meaner servauntes at Barnett, xxx*s*; given to such

as attended about the post-houses, vij*s* vj*d*, and in reward to one of the Tellor's Clerkes, whoe told and delivered the ccc*li* and came to Durham House for the acquittance, xx*s*, in all . . xij*li* ix*s* vj*d*

"Money payde by the saide Lorde Bysshope pte of the ccc*li* by him receaved to Nicholas Paye, gen., whoe hath for the same yelded his accompte to the Kinge's Matie . . . . . c*li* „ „

cilxiij*li* viiij*s* viij*d*

"And so remayneth the some of xxxvj*li* xj*s* iiij*d*

Which some the saide Lorde Bysshopp of Durham hath payde into the Kinge's M^ts receipte of Th' excheq^r the vij^th daye of Februarie, in the nynth yere of his highnes raigne, as by the tallie thereof remayninge may appeare. And soe here Quyte.

"Ex p FRA. GOFTON,*

"*Auditorem.*"

"Notes and Queries," vol. i., 1st Series. Contributed by Robert Cole, Esq.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ESCAPE.

THE close of the second month drew nigh. Arabella, though still in a wretched state of health, was so far recovered as to leave no hopes of a further respite. To go to Durham was like going to her grave. She remembered the fate of Katherine Grey, and she could not accept the hopes which her friends offered her of James's softening with time. He might, it was true, pardon her on condition of an eternal separation from her husband, but it was that very separation that caused her present grief. It was not the living in prison, galling as that was to so free a soul. To have lived in prison with him would have been far happier than living free without him. But in either case, so long as James or his descendants sat on the English throne, so certain was it that Arabella and Seymour must be parted. But one hope remained—to escape from the power of the tyrant. Her aunt Mary now entirely took

up her cause. She contrived to send hope to her niece, and to prepare her for a plan for her deliverance and reunion with her husband. How this knowledge was conveyed will never be known. "My Lady of Shrewsbury," says Lord Nottingham, "was the only worker and contriver of the lady's Bedlam opposition against your Majesty's direction, which, besides our own knowledge, Mr. Chancellor of the Duchy hath infallibly demonstrated by signs and operations. It doth now most manifestly appear that her purse hath been the only instrument of her audacity to undertake and ability to contrive the plot of her escape, *which should have been the beginning, or rather the foundation, of all the plots that were to follow.* But the mystery was managed with so great art as in my judgment we shall never be able to prove more than that my Lady of Shrewsbury had by her traffic for a penny some kind of penny, and though we shall be able to prove that at this very time of her preparing means for her escape, and chiefly since the time of the lady's going down when you were at Windsor, the great part of the money hath been paid."*

As a last effort, the Countess made an earnest appeal to Lord Rochester, the prime favourite, to

* Letter of the Earl of Northampton to the King. State Papers, James, Dom., lxiv., fol. 23, MS.

intercede with the King in behalf of her niece. But the answer of that royal servant to her importunate suit was with "so faithful and sound a refusal to solicit in a matter which he knew unfit for her to ask, and for the King to grant," that he protested "he would rather lose his life than deal in a matter so distasteful to his Majesty, and so cross to the duty and affection which he owed to the King more than to all the world." "And," adds Northampton, writing to the King of Rochester's loyalty, "I protest to your Majesty that if it were possible for me to add one grain to that inestimable love which I bear him already, *upon this demonstration of worth he should be sure of it.*"

Alas! for poor Arabella; small chance had she of recovering the King's favour and sanction to her marriage. Even her old friend Salisbury seems to have quite deserted her; and as for Prince Henry, there was, perhaps, nothing in the conduct of his father so much approved by that greatly overrated young man as the treatment of Arabella. She confessed "that this uncomfortable answer from my Lord of Rochester moved her to think all labour lost in those ends which she affected for the satisfaction of her own mind in those matters."

Lady Shrewsbury now entered upon her plan.

The first thing was to provide Arabella with money to bribe her keepers, and pay such expenses as were inevitable, and which caution required that the Countess should not meddle with. £1400 were sent by her to Arabella under pretext of enabling her to pay her debts before going to Durham, and also that, when in the North, she might purchase some of the needlework of Mary, Queen of Scots. £850 were nominally given for the latter purpose; probably this price covered some other obligation. The faithful man-servant Crompton, "the trusty rogue," managed the arrangements, and received money from Arabella out of her aunt's donation, for the necessary expenses. He brought her a disguise, and instructed her how she was to act. William Seymour received the same intelligence; he, however, was obliged to hide everything from his nearest relations, and most especially from his grandfather the Earl of Hertford, who of all persons would be the most certain to tell the King, so little sympathy did his own youth leave him for another precisely in the same position; so utterly had the world and the "wisdom" of maturer years crushed out the last spark of romance from the once gallant and knightly Edward Seymour.

Rodney was the friend who acted for Seymour.*

* Letter of Francis Seymour. Harl. MS. 7007.

On Sunday, the 3rd of June, Edward Rodney went to the house of a woman with whom he had formerly lodged, and telling her that he was ill, and wanted a change for a few days, he engaged a lodging at her house. He then sent his man-servant, a Frenchman, with "a cloke, a cappe, a cabbynett, and a fardele, all lapt in a white sheete, to be laid in his chamber." They were very heavy, and therefore suspected by the landlady to conceal some articles of value. The next morning, at about eight o'clock, the servant came again, and asked if his master had not been there, and at the same time brought with him a buckram bag "fulle of stuffe."* At six o'clock on the same day there came to the house a tall gentleman, whose cloak was lined with purple velvet, his hose of the same colour, and a green camlet doublet. He had flaxen hair and no beard. He asked if Mr. Rodney had not taken a lodging there? At first the landlady denied it, thinking that, as Mr. Rodney had taken the rooms on account of his health, he would prefer to be safe from the intrusion of strangers. The new-comer, however, smiled at the pretext of illness, and told her that the truth was that Mr. Rodney had taken the lodging for a gentlewoman of fashion, by whom Mr. Rodney might receive much good.

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 126.

He then went away and came back with a gentlewoman (a servant of Arabella), tall of person, not richly apparelled, very pale, and recognizable by a wart on her cheek, under the eye. This gentlewoman stayed in the house till three in the afternoon, by which time all the goods were conveyed by a waterman to St. Katherine's Stairs. The man then, cautiously peering into the street to see that no one was there, took his companion, and both departed. The curiosity of the landlady was aroused, and she sent her servant to follow these strange guests. The servant returned with the news that they had gone to Pickleherring, against the Tower, and there taken a boat.

Meanwhile, Arabella succeeded in moving the heart of one of her attendants (a minister's wife). For some days she had appeared to renounce all hope and submit herself to the King's will, and thus "induced her keepers and attendants into securitie by the fayre shew of conformitye and willingness to goe on her journey towards Durham," which journey was appointed for the next day.

She then put on her disguise, which consisted of a large pair of French-fashioned hose, a man's doublet, a large peruke with long locks, a black hat, black cloak, white, or, as another account says, russet boots with red tops, and a rapier by her side.

Thus equipped, on Monday, the 4th of June, between three and four in the afternoon, she boldly went forth, accompanied by Mr. Markham, one of her attendants.

They walked for a mile and a half till they reached a "sorry Inne," where the faithful Crompton waited for them with saddle horses. But in the shattered condition of Arabella's health the short walk had been too much for her. She turned sick and faint, and could scarcely mount her horse. "That gentleman will hardly reach London," said the ostler, as he held the stirrup for her to mount. However, the brisk exercise brought the unwonted blood into her pale cheeks, and, in cavalier fashion, she rode with Crompton and Markham to Blackwall, where she arrived at about six o'clock.*

There, at the tavern, they found the flaxen-haired man, and the gentlewoman had set off a little before.† Arabella is described at the inn as in man's apparel—*white* boots with red tops, one spur hanging down to the ground.‡ She waited at Blackwall an hour and a half, her company coming scattered one after another. But she waited in vain for Seymour, till delay became so

* Winwood.

† Letter of Sir W. Monson. State Papers. James, Dom., MS.

‡ Letter of Sir W. Waad. State Papers. James, Dom., MS.

hazardous that she was forced to depart with her one female attendant. She set off in a boat with "a good pair of oars," followed by another carrying their baggage.

The rest waited for Seymour, only Markham and Crompton, with the gentlewoman, going with Arabella. The two men were in one boat, the two women in another. They rowed till they arrived at Lea, where they saw a vessel lying at anchor, commanded by a captain of the name of Briggs. They immediately hailed the vessel, and asked whither she was bound. The master answered, "For Berwick." Then the youngest of the two servants said to the master, that if he would leave his voyage and serve him, he would give him any money he chose to ask. The master refused the offer, saying that he was bound to his merchant, and could not break his word. They then asked him if there was not a French vessel lying somewhere near. The master answered that he knew not, unless it might be a vessel that was riding about a mile and a half up the river. They said that if that were the ship they should recognise her by a flag which the master had promised to hold out, but seeing no other, they went away, and towing up to her they found she was the desired bark, and all four went on board in the sight of the Berwick captain. The latter particularly

noticed the company, which he described as consisting of "a man about forty years, with a long flaxen beard, something corpulent, and, as he remembered, in a suit of grey cloth, with a rapier and a dagger gilt. The other was younger, with a little black beard, who was the man that most desired the master to receive them and carry them for Calais, with large proffers for the passage, who, as he remembered, was in black apparel. The third man he did not notice, and therefore could not describe him. Of the women, one was bare-faced, in a black riding safeguard, with a black hat, having nothing on her head but a black hat and her hair. This last he took to be Moll Cutpurse, and thought that, if it were she, she had made some fault and was desirous of escape.

The other woman sat close covered with a black hood or veil over her head and face, so that he could not see her—only saw that under her mantle she had a white attire (a glimpse of her white boots), and that, on pulling off her glove, "a marvellous fair white hand was revealed."*

Arabella had now escaped the greater dangers and reached the French ship. But where was Seymour? At every station she had lingered with fatal delay, in the hopes of his joining her, and now, having exhausted the last moment of

* Examination of John Briggs. State Papers, lxvi., fol. 30.

time, she besought the ship to remain at anchor till he arrived. Her followers, more prudent, knew that imminent danger had already been incurred by her lingering on his behalf. And, indeed, none but a woman would have so risked the whole enterprise by these dangerous delays. Nothing but the dread of his capture, if he did not reach the French ship, can excuse what was madness on her part. Her followers indulged her too long. At last they refused to listen any longer to her entreaties, and hoisting sail, turned towards the sea, bearing their charge a dreadful prey to anxiety as to whether her husband had escaped. Well can we imagine her feelings as the anchor was raised! The terrible fear that, by her departure, she was depriving him of the means of escape, the thought of how he might misjudge her act, his bitter disappointment at arriving at the appointed spot and finding the vessel gone, his possible recapture, the penalties that might be inflicted on him as the punishment for her escape, and all the racking tortures that pierce a loving heart as it thinks that *it* may perchance be the cause of ruin to its beloved.

Let us now see how deeply these fears were grounded.

The carelessness with which Seymour was guarded certainly affords ground for suspicion

that he had friends in the Tower. By some means he obtained a disguise, consisting of a peruque and beard of black hair, and a tawny suit. A labourer came to the great west gate of the Tower with a cart, bringing his billets of wood, and Seymour "walked alone without suspicion from his lodging, following this cart as it returned." He walked along by the Tower Wharf, by the Warders of the South Gate, and so to the iron gate, where he found Rodney waiting with a boat for him.* But he did not leave the Tower till eight o'clock,† consequently the rest were gone when he arrived. With two servants and Rodney, he rowed hard till they came to Lea, hoping to find the French ship. This was the moment so dreaded by Arabella. The only thing was to continue, in hopes of either reaching the French vessel or some other which might be hired to carry them out of reach of pursuit. The waters of the river were too high for their little craft, and so they hired a fishing boat for twenty shillings to carry them to a vessel that was visible in the distance, slowly sailing down the river. They reached this vessel, which proved to be a collier bound for Newcastle,‡ and hailed her. Great was the astonishment of the master

* Winwood. † Letter of Francis Seymour.
‡ Letter of Sparrow and Cage. Harl. MS. 7003.

to see four men, one "a gentleman, in a full suit of satin, laid with gold and silver lace, another younger man, in a suit of Murray coloured stuff, the third a Frenchman, and a servant. The master immediately asked the name of the one in red satin, who answered that it was Rodney, and desired a conference with the master. After some talk, the master agreed to put off his voyage to Newcastle, and for the sum of forty pounds to carry the boat's crew to Calais. All then came aboard the collier, which proceeded down the Thames till they drew near to a place called the Buoy. Suddenly, Rodney saw a French vessel in the distance, and hurriedly called on the master of the collier to speak with her. The master declared that in the position they were it was impossible to approach her, but promised, if they "anchored near, to send his boat on board the same."

At noon they cast anchor at the Buoy, and a quarter of an hour after, the French bark cast anchor about a mile and a half off. The boat of the collier was then lowered, and the Frenchman rowed off to speak with the French vessel, which he said he thought was one that was to have carried them over. The vessel, however, was not the one in question. The Frenchman returned, and they continued their journey. The wind

preventing them from standing for Calais, they put in near Harwich on Tuesday night, and on Thursday, the wind being still contrary, they made for Ostend. Some of the crew of the collier asked the younger gentleman what his name was. He replied, William See, and Rodney, from the beginning, asserted they were only leaving England on account of a quarrel. On Friday morning, at eight o'clock, they landed at Ostend, and the master having received the money for his voyage, returned to Ipswich, carrying with him a letter from Rodney to Francis Seymour.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CAPTURE.

ON the Tuesday after the escape, Francis Seymour, younger brother of William, received the letter from Edward Rodney revealing the whole affair, without doubt judging it impossible that a brother should reveal so important a secret. Rodney desired Francis to excuse him for not having taken him into his confidence before, but declared the reason was that they might the better keep the secret from the old Earl of Hertford, who would be sure to divulge it to the King.

Small indeed was the sympathy expressed by Francis. He immediately set out, and in half an hour arrived at the apartments of his brother in the Tower. Half doubting the truth, he asked the man-servant of William for his master. The man replied that his master had passed a sleepless night, and therefore wished not to be troubled this morning. Francis, half-believing, however,

declared that he must and would see his brother, and the man seeing it impossible to conceal the truth any longer, confessed that Mr. William Seymour had escaped the night before. As he was speaking, Sir William Waad, the Lieutenant of the Tower, walked into the apartment. The noble-minded Francis immediately showed the letter of Rodney to the Lieutenant, as he had intended to show it to the Lord Treasurer, to whose house they both repaired. The Lord Treasurer having read the letter, leaving Francis waiting in an ante-room, that young worthy resolved to have the honour of telling the first news, and set off with it to the King's palace, where he was followed by Waad and the Treasurer. After an audience with his Majesty, the two departed to the Privy Council, and thither also Francis was summoned.

He was immediately examined—"1st. How he came by the letter? 2nd. Why he did not instantly carry it to the Treasurer? 3rd. Whether Rodney had not slept with him the night before? 4th. What conference they had? 5th. Whether he knew where the fugitives were bound? He answered—1st. That he had received the letter from Robert Stafford on Tuesday morning. 2nd. That the letter did not directly say his brother was gone, though there was some presumption of

it, and before he would be the reporter of an affair of that consequence, he would be sure of it, declaring that, had he not had proof with his own eyes, he never would have believed it. 3rd. Rodney had slept with him. 4th. Rodney had not communicated his intentions. They had often slept together; they were kinsmen. 5th. He had not any idea of where the fugitives were bound."

The examination over, Francis was desired to remain at Hertford House, from whence he wrote a long letter, announcing the ill news to the Earl of Hertford, and another to the Earl's wife, declaring his amazement at the conduct of his brother and Arabella, "knowing it would be their utter undoing, a grief unto their friends, and good to none, most hurt unto themselves." We may well believe the assertion of the worthy Francis, when complaining bitterly of being "confined unto my lodging only uppon suspicion," he asserts, "I am as clear of their release, or of any of their practises, as is the childe that was but yesterday borne."*

The consternation of James was pitiable. In his mind's eye he saw not the real truth, a simple woman taking the only possible means to join the

* Letter of Francis Seymour. State Papers. Harl. MS. 7003.

husband she loved, without thought or care for aught beside. But he saw an outraged woman whom he had done all in his power to provoke, received by his enemies with joy, and by their aid strengthened into a powerful rival against his throne. He saw the Pope, the King of Spain, and all the Roman Catholics of his own kingdom in arms against him. Arabella had never had the credit of being a very zealous Protestant, nay, long before her marriage it was asserted that she had collapsed into Catholicism. Easy would it be for the Catholics to settle her wavering principles in their favour. He felt now the danger of driving a rival to despair. He had proved to Arabella that she could never live in peace in England united to her husband. What if, stung by the thought, she refused the unjust banishment, and, backed by foreign powers, returned as a queen! Then, too, there were the claims of her husband, doubling the dangers and the fears of James. It was true that the head of the house had long ago renounced all ambition, and had sunk down into a rather querulous old country gentleman, whose chief anxiety was his health. But these ambitions, quenched in age, can revive in youth, and that Lord Beauchamp was ready to assert his claims he was already reported to have given evidence. Seymour was only twenty-four. He had proved

his daring ambition by marrying the highest lady in the land, and that, too, after a residence in the Tower, where he had been sent on the mere suspicion of his intentions. Was it likely that he would renounce such golden possibilities as the Will of Henry VIII. left open in his favour?

All the *possibilities* that torment a cowardly and suspicious character gnawed at the heart of James. Like all of the Stuart race, he never thought of acting justly and trusting to the love of his people. Had he been capable of this, the mournful story of Arabella Stuart would have been spared. For never were fears more utterly unfounded. Not the slightest evidence remains of ambition on her part, and the total absence of all sympathy in the people of England would have been enough to show how little danger was to be apprehended from them to a larger-minded man. Lord Northampton fed the flame with poisonous insinuations. "The matter was so finely managed," says he, "that, whatsoever was to be done after the bride had been freed of her cage by practise in foreign parts, yet all contingencies were to sleep and by no means to be awaked, nor the greater helps supplied, till by her escape it should appear what course should be intended by the potentates of foreign parts, either in assisting or abandoning. These courses were but a preparative work. The

very crosses of the cause itself, and the motive of the bounty that should fee that spring from hence was never to be put to proof before that window was opened." Northampton ascribes more to the ambition of the Countess of Shrewsbury than to Arabella herself. "One may see," he continues, "the cunning of that lady, that contending to work her own haughty ends out of the passions of one that was pliant to advise, hath kept within her breast the poison that was to break out by contingency, leaving us to work upon acts intermediate, that in the first appearance only regards the satisfaction of a young lady's unstaid humour, a fit scholar to receive some deeper infusion when time should serve, and distance secure, and combination encourage."*

It is possible that the statesmen of England were really penetrated with these fears, and that, acting from conscientious motives, as in the case of Catherine of Arragon, they deemed it worthy and becoming the honour of English gentlemen to destroy every right that a woman holds dear and precious, for the public good. They were not in the least ashamed to purchase their own safety by the sacrifice of one weak woman, and some modern theorists will probably look with disgust

* Letter of Northampton to the King. State Papers, James; Dom., lxiv., fol. 23, MS.

on the selfishness of Arabella, who positively thought herself more bound to the husband she loved than to a tyrant who had no other motive for his conduct than his own fears of what *might* happen.

How pleasant it is to prescribe sacrifices for others! How noble to advise the weaker party to yield as a matter of peace and quietness! Far easier is it to draw the knife across the throat of Iphigenia than to battle with the angry waves and winds, daring all consequences rather than compromise the right. But beautiful and divine as is a voluntary sacrifice, even so hateful and detestable is the same sacrifice extorted by another. We adore Alcestis for descending to the grave, freely seeking the Shades to spare her lord; but what should we say of the king who forced her there to save his own life? And a higher Power than that of man has placed Justice above material good, and has decreed failure to all plans built on the oppression of even one humble individual. The sacrifice of Catharine of Arragon did not prevent her daughter from reigning, and the imprisonment of Arabella did not secure the throne to the son of her oppressor. When will the good advice be given to the *stronger party?* When shall we say to a tyrant, "Renounce your ambition, your greed, your power over the weak," and ask the

sacrifice from the one of whom *justice*, not power, demands it?

It is certain that no one asked this of James. On every side pursuit and capture was the cry. At the dead of midnight, on Tuesday, one of the King's messengers came galloping from Lord Salisbury to Phineas Pette,* the King's shipwright—"to man the *Light Horseman*† with twenty musqueteers, and to run out as low as the Nore head to search all shippes, barks, and other vessells, for the Lady Arbella." The order was promptly obeyed. All the vessels were searched in vain, as well as every house in the town of Lea. After losing some time, Pette went to Gravesend, and thence took post-horse to Greenwich to acquaint the King with the result.‡

On the same day the following proclamation was made, forbidding any to assist the fugitives, and commanding all *under high penalties to surrender them.*

"Whereas we are geven to understand that the lady Arbella and William Seymore, second Sonne to the Lord Beauchampe, being for divers great and haynous Offences committed, the one to our Tower of London, and the other to speciall Guard,

* Pette's Diary. † A kind of boat.

‡ Appendix, II. 7.

have found the means, by the wicked Practises of divers lewd Persons as, namely, Markham, Crompton, Rodney, and others, to breake Prison and make Escape, on Monday, the third of June, with an intent to transport themselves into forreyne Partes. Wee doe hereby straightly charge and commaund all Persones whatsoever, upon their Allegiance and Dutie, not onlie to forbeare to receave, harbor, or assist them in their passage anie way, as they will aunswer it at their Perrilles; but upon the like Charge and Paine to use the best meanes they can for their Apprehension, and Keeping them in safe Custody, which Wee will take as an acceptable Service.

"Given at Greenwich the fowerth Daie of June, 1611.

"PER IPSUM REGEM."*

Salisbury was then ordered to send a letter, post haste, to the Governor of Calais, to stop them should they arrive in that port. The French ambassador was also requested to send a message to the governor of Calais to detain them till the pleasure of the King of France should be known. James added that he did not think they meant to stay in France, or that they "expected anie good

* Rymer's Fœdera, xvi. p. 710.

that way," but only to land, and from thence have an easy passage.*

The following persons were immediately committed to prison :—

List of Persons committed to the Tower, on occasion of the Escape of Mr. William and Lady Arabella Seymour, 4th and 5th of June, 1611.†

The Countess of Shrewsbury, to the Tower.
Sir James Crofts, to the Flecte.
Doctor Moundford, close prisoner in the Gatehouse.
Addams, the minister's wife, to the Gatehouse.
Bates, to the Bailiffe of Oxford.
Pigot, sent to the Earl of Shrewsbury to be forthcoming.
John Baisly, Waterman, committed to Davy Rowden, a messenger.
Batten, Mr. Seymour's barber, committed to the dungeon of the Tower by Mr. Lieutenant.
Haladin, a Frenchman, committed to the Porter's Lodge in the Tower.
Mr. Seymour's butler, committed to the Tower.
Corvo, the French skipper, to Newgate.
The skipper of Ipswich, to the Gatehouse.

* Letter of Lord Fenton. State Papers, James, Dom., lxiv., fol. 6.

† Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 140.

Orders were also the same day (June 4th) despatched to Mr. Trumbull, to demand an immediate audience of the Archdukes, and deliver a letter from the King. He was also to urge the Archdukes to be guided "not by that which is only visible, but by entering with judgment how far circumstances of persons and pretences may make things dangerous in consequence, though in other examples wanting some such considerations that may be refused which ought now to be granted. Upon which ground," says Salisbury, "you will do well to make this further instance, that the Archdukes will not suffer the world to conceive that their friendship with his Majesty is so weakly grounded as not to demonstrate on such an occasion somewhat more than the ordinary rules of amity or treaty may directly tye them to. And therefore his Majesty doth now require of them that both their persons and their company (if they come within their dominions) may be stayed, until, upon advertisement of it, they may further hear from his Majesty. Though you may conclude that, excepting the scorn and example of so great pride and animosity where his Majesty's only clemency hath vied his own offence, there is nothing in these Persons relative to themselves to hold them other than contemptible creatures."

The only person who seemed disposed to cast a lenient eye on the offenders was the old Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, who wrote to Salisbury, and showed his kind heart by endeavouring to persuade him to treat the whole as a matter of little consequence.

The next thing to be done was to set out in pursuit. Admiral Monson discovered, by means of the watermen who had rowed her down the river, that Arabella had gone on board the French ship at about four o'clock in the morning; that she had been detained two hours by the ebb, which, however, he reckoned would be recovered. He calculated she could not reach more than the North Foreland, and if the wind were east it would be impossible to reach Calais that night. He immediately sent to the Channel for a ship to stand over for Calais, and for greater certainty, he sent another vessel to any of the Lords at Greenwich, to send away in haste with galleys open. And while the larger vessel was preparing, he seized an oyster boat and put six men, with shot, into her, to hasten after the fugitives with all speed.* The Admiral himself went out in a light fishing craft, and sent another vessel named the *Adventure*, which pressed forward towards Calais, while another was despatched to the coast of Flanders.

* Letter of Griffin Cockett. Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 128.

About half-channel over, a small sail appeared in sight. The *Adventure* crowded sail to pursue her, but so little wind blew that neither pursuer nor pursued could make much way. The *Adventure* then lowered a boat, and filled her with armed men well provided with shot. The light craft soon arrived at the French vessel, and having vainly challenged her, fired a broadside, and endeavoured to hinder her course by volleys of musketry, while the *Adventure* came fast up the rear. The French vessel stood thirteen shots before she surrendered, when Arabella, seeing that all hope was over, came forward and discovered herself to the captain of the French vessel. The boat's crew then boarded the French ship, and seizing Arabella demanded her husband. She answered bravely that she had not seen him, but hoped he had got safely over, declaring that her joy at his escape was greater than her grief at her own capture. She was then taken on board the *Adventure*, with all the rest of the passengers, and there kept close prisoner, while the master wrote to Admiral Monson to inform him of her capture.

The swift return of the *Adventure* gave assurance to Monson that she had accomplished her object, and on receipt of Cockett's letter he immediately sent the intelligence to Lord Salisbury, not permitting Arabella to leave the ship till he received

orders, though he declared that "in the mean time she shall not want anything the shore can afford or any other honorable privilege."

James immediately ordered her to be sent back to the Tower. Sir John More, writing to Sir Ralph Winwood, says, "In this passionate hurry here was a proclamation first conceived in very bitter terms, but by my Lord Treasurer's moderation seasoned at the print as now here you find it. There are likewise three letters dispatched in haste, written by Sir Thomas Lake to the King and Queen Regent of France, and to the Archdukes, all written with harsher ink than now if they were to do (I presume) they should be, especially that to the Archdukes, which did seem to presuppose their course to tend that way, and all three describing the offence in black colours, and pressing their sending back without delay. Indeed the general belief was that they intended to settle themselves in Brabant, and that under the favour of the Popish faction: but now I rather think they will be most pitied by the puritans, and that their course did wholly tend to France. And though for the former I had only mine own corrigible imagination, yet for the latter many potent reasons do concur: As that the ship that did attend them was French, the place that Mr. Seymour made for was Calais, the man that made

their perukes was a French clockmaker, who is fled with them, and in the ship is said to be found a French post with letters from the Ambassador.

"The proclamation for the oath is by divers found strange, for that it is so general, but where love is, loyalty will not be found wanting."

The following persons were committed to the Tower with Arabella :—

*A list of Persons Comitted to the Tower.**

	The La. Arbella	in the Tower.
	The Countess of Shrewsbury	
Fleet	Hugh Crompton, Gent.	
Marsh	William Markham, Gent.	
Gate h.	Edward Rodney	
	Mrs. Bradshawe	
Bond.	Batten, Mr. Seymour's Barbour	
	Mr. Seymour's Buttler	
R.	Sir James Crofts	in the Fleete.
R.	Dr. Moundford	in the Gate-house.
Bonde.	Adams, the Mynister's wife	
	Seerson, the Skipper of Ipswich	
Loses his place.—Edward Kirton, Gent.		
To be sent to the Earl.—Jasme Corré, the French Skipper		in Newgate.
	John Baisley, Waterman	
To be delivered.—Bates the E. of Shrewsbury's Man, With the Bayliffe of Westmd.		

An examination was then held before the Lords of the Council, in which every attempt was made to entrap the prisoners into some confession which should legally justify their imprisonment and

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 143.

prove them guilty of high treason. Arabella answered calmly, but the Countess of Shrewsbury was overcome with excitement and indignation at the unjust and secret tribunal before which she was summoned. She declared that she would answer nothing in private; if she had offended against the law she would answer it in public. The chief evidence against her consisted in the large amount of ready money that was found at her disposal—no less than £20,000, besides bills of exchange for the use of Arabella. All this was supposed to be destined to buy the Catholic party, and though it was acknowledged that Arabella had "not yet been found inclinable to Popery," yet, says the sagacious More, "her aunt made account *belike* that being beyond the seas in the hands of Jesuits and priests, either the stroke of their arguments or the pinch of poverty might force her to the other side. Our Scots and English differ much," he continues, "in opinion upon this point. These do hold that if this couple should have escaped, the danger was not like to have been very great, in regard that their pretensions are so many degrees removed, and they ungraceful* both in their persons and in their houses; so as a hot alarm taken at the matter will make them

* "Ungraceful" is here used in the Puritan sense, signifying "irreligious"—*i.e.*, not of the Puritan religion.

more illustrious in the world's eye than now they are, and so it is said to fill his Majesty with fearful imaginations, and with him the prince, who cannot easily be removed from any settled opinion."

In addition to the above arrests, the Earl of Shrewsbury was kept a prisoner in his own house, and the old Earl of Hertford summoned to Court with the proviso, "if he be found healthful enough to travel, he must not delay his coming."*

* Letter of Sir John More. Winwood.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ESCAPE OF WILLIAM SEYMOUR.

WE must now return to William Seymour.

On his arrival at Ostend, he immediately went to Bruges, sending a messenger along the coast to Gravelines to "hearken after the arrival of his lady." But she came not; and still ignorant of whither he was, the King sent off a new dispatch to Dudley Carleton, Ambassador at Venice, to ask the State to deliver him up in case he should have sought refuge there. The State, however, had already received letters from their Ambassador in England telling how matters stood, and not caring to provoke the anger of James, they offered to deliver up Seymour should he enter their territory, asking for a description of his person and company in order that they might the more readily discover him. And they begged Carleton that if any rumour of Seymour coming to Venice should reach his ears,

to "signify it unto them, and they would show their care in giving his Majesty satisfaction." "Being thus prevented," says Carleton, "I had no more word left me to say but that having my audience expressly for this purpose, I was now to change the instance I had to make into the thanksgiving for their readiness in satisfying his Majesty very much to see how little need there is of argument or persuasion where there is such real affection. And this would be a sufficient assurance that this State in the like occasions would never serve for a passage or refuge to any like fugitive. I thought it not amiss to add (in regard that nothing can be understood in these parts to be done in England without some mixture of the Catholic cause), that his Majesty's pursuit of this business was not for any extraordinary consequence or doubt of any danger that might proceed of this young man's person, but for just indignation that one of such disparity of years, blood, and means, should presume, contrary both to word and oath, not only to steal a match with one so near his Majesty in blood, but likewise contemptuously to break prison and fly away, whereas his restraint was no way severe, but only (for such time as his Majesty should think fit) to cause a separation. The Prince did herein justify his Majesty's course of proceedings, and

repeated their purpose of staying his person and company if they could light upon him."*

But Seymour was probably aware of their feeling. He found a friend in the Archduke, who, instead of delivering him up, interceded in his behalf, beseeching James to pardon so small a fault as a clandestine marriage, and to suffer Seymour and his wife to live together. How this was received the following letter will show:—

"*The Lord Treasurer Salisbury to Mr. Trumbull.*†

"*20th June,* 1611.

"Mr. Trumbull,—I have acquainted his Majesty with your proceedings in the business concerning Mr. Seymour, who was pleased in perusing your letter to take notice of the diligence and cautions which you have used therein, although the success hath not been answerable, which he imputeth to the coldness of those ministers who do but lend *sourde oreille* to motions of this nature, and pretend a want of authority, when in truth it is merely a want of will and correspondency. For the letter from the Archduke to his Majesty, it was only an answer of formality, declaring in the general his willingness to give

* State Papers, James, Dom., lxv. MS.
† Winwood, ii.

his Majesty such satisfaction (in case those persons should come within his territories) as should agree with the treaty and with their mutual amity. Whereupon, seeing Mr. Seymour is come thither, and that the Archduke, both by his Majestie's letter and by your relation, doth sufficiently understand what is now expected on his part, his Majesty's pleasure is, you should forbear to urge and press this matter any further, but leave them to do therein what themselves shall best advise; this being a thing of no such consequence as that his Majesty will make any extraordinary contestation for it, but attend their own motions and judge accordingly. In the meantime, so long as he doth remaine a proselyte of that country, casting away that duty and obedience with which he was born, and betaking himself to protection in those parts *Sit tibi tanquam Ethnicus*, forbearing both his conversation and his conference; saving only, according to the instructions in my last, *to carry always a watchful eye to observe what entertainment he doth find there; how he is respected; to whom he most applies himself; who especially resort unto him, and what course he purposeth to take either for his stay or his remove.* And, as you can have any means, to let him know thus much, that he *will deceive himself if ever he thinks to find favour whilst he liveth under any of the*

territories of Spain, Rome, or of the Archdukes; all which places all that are ill-affected only find residence and favour. Where it seems he had some speech with you of his purpose to write to me his excuse, you may let him understand thus much, that howsoever myself with other of the Lords were contented heretofore in *his first falling* to extenuate his part and to plead in his favour, upon a confidence that seeing his error, the honesty and truth of his heart, encouraged by the goodness of his Majesty towards him, would not suffer him to fall again; yet having since deluded our expectation, and therein violated his own faith so far as to abuse his Majesty's lenity, I am now neither willing to remember that I have done him any courtesies neither mean to entertain any acknowledgment of them to me. And, therefore, if he hath any purpose to write hither to make his peace by the mediation of his friends, let him address his letters either to the Lords in general or else to those in whom he hath a particular interest, for you may assure him that for mine own part I am resolved not to receive any letters from him that are directed to me in particular. And so I commit you to God.

Your loving Friend,

"R. Salisbury."

Next to James and Prince Henry, perhaps the person most overwhelmed by the flight of Seymour was the old Earl of Hertford. All ideas of romance had long ago been trodden out of him. The Star Chamber and the Tower that had sent his bride to an early grave, her heart still beating with a deathless love, had frozen all his tender feelings. Perchance as he read the letter of his grandson Francis, for a few moments they returned. For as he wrote a reply, when he came to the word "Tower" his hand trembled so that the letter caught fire and the fatal word was consumed. In that moment, perhaps, the veil of years was uplifted, time rolled backward, and he gazed in imagination again on the face of her who had sacrificed all, even her very life, for him. Whether his heart gushed with pity towards his grandson, we cannot tell. It is possible he felt more than he dared to show. It is certain that had he shown any sympathy, it would have been productive of nothing but harm to the victims themselves. So, remembering this, we can understand that it was probably the wisest thing he could do to speak of the escape as a folly of extreme youth, and treat Seymour as nothing more dignified than a "disobedient boy." Were the occasion not so sad, the following letter might provoke a smile :—

Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, to the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Treasurer.

**Letley, 6th June*, 1611.

"My Lord,—This last night, at xi of the clock, ready to go to bed, I received this letter from my stepson,† Frank Seymour, which I send your Lordship here inclosed. A letter no less troublesome to me than strange to think I should, in these my last days, be grandfather of a child that, instead of patience and tarrying the Lord's leisure (lessons that I learned and prayed for when I was in the same place where our lewdly heir is now escaped), would not tarry for the good hour of favour to come from a gracious and merciful King, as I did, and enjoyed in the end (though long first) from a most worthy and noble Queen, but hath plunged himself further into his Highness' just displeasure. To whose Majesty I do by these lines earnestly pray your Lordship to signify most humbly from me how distasteful this his foolish and boyish action is unto me, and that as at the first upon his examination before your Lordships and his Majesty afterward,

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 124.

† Stepson is constantly used for grandson in old manuscripts.

nothing was more offensive unto me, mistaking altogether the unfitness and inequality of the match, and the handling of it afterward worse, so do I condemn this as worst of all in them both. Thus, my Lord, with an unquiet mind, to think (as before) I should be grandfather to any child that hath so much forgotten his duty as he hath now done, and having slept never a wink this night (a bad medicine for one that is not fully recovered of a second great cold I took), I leave your Lordship with very loving commendations to the heavenly protection.

"From Letley, this Thursday morning, at 4 of the clock, the 6th of June, 1611.

"Your Lordship's most assured
Loving friend,
"HERTFORD.

"*Postsc.*—As I was reading my said stepson's letter, my size took (as your Lordship may perceive) unto the bottom of the letter; but the word missing that is burnt was Tower to acquaint."

The Earl of Salisbury was the chief person in the affair who acted for the King. He conducted the correspondence, and to him all letters were addressed.

Sir James Crofts had fallen under the King's

bitter anger. He was accused not merely of laxity of guard, but of abetting the escape of Arabella, and on this suspicion was thrown into the Fleet prison. There was no evidence against him, and the poor old knight complained bitterly of such treatment after a faithful service of thirty-six years.

The Earl of Hertford now wrote a letter to William Seymour, which I have not been able to discover, and which was probably a model of quaintness. He alludes to it in the following letters to Salisbury:—

*The Earl of Hertford to the Earl of Salisbury.**

"According to my speech with your Lordship yesternight, I have made a draught of a letter to my disobedient, infortunate grandchild, William Seymour, and now send it to you, that your Lordship and the rest may be pleased to peruse and correct the same according to your wisdom, and then returning it to me with your good allowance warranted under your hands, that I may boldly do so. I will write it out again, and leave it to be conveyed as your Lordship shall

* State Papers, James, Dom. 65, MS.

think best. And even so with my very loving commendations, I rest

"Your Lordship's most assured loving friend,

"HERTFORD.

"From Littleton, this Wednesday night,
the 26th June, 1611."

*The Earl of Hertford to the Earl of Salisbury.**

"MY LORD,—Instead of my imputing neglect in your Lordship for no sooner receiving answer from you touching my unfortunate grandchild, I pray you think I would willingly have stayed your best leisure how long soever. I am glad a rough written copy of my letter to be sent to my said boy liked your Lordship so well, who I perceive have perused the same. I therefore humbly return the same back to your Lordship newly written out again, and open for your Lordship to examine with the original, and to seal after with my own usual seal, ready for your Lordship to send away when you please. I pray you return of my said rough draught whereunto your Lordship's hands are annexed for my security and warrant, and also to send back my seal by this bearer, my servant Fursby. As for your Lordship's offer of

* State Papers, James, Dom. 65, MS.

my sending any hence, servant or friend, to confirm by word of mouth what I have written, pardon me, I pray your Lordship; for if this my letter will not move him, nothing will. Thus with return of my good wishes to your Lordship, I rest

"Your Lordship's very loving,

"Assured friend,

"HERTFORD.

"From Letley, this Thursday morning, ye 4th of July, 1611."

*The Earl of Hertford to the Earl of Salisbury.**

"MY LORD,—Having so fit a messenger as Robin June, I will no longer defer my due thanks for your late care of promising to send my letter to my unfortunate grandchild, William Seymour (whose answer and actions I pray God may be answerable to his friend's desire). But now to draw myself out of melancholy and to entertaine your grave affairs with pleasant conceits, let me (after my like thanks for your Lordship's wonted care and good counsel still given to your charge, my wife), acquaint you with her inveterate malice against your poor rabbits and conies of your castle warren of Old Sarum. She went thither

* State Papers, James, Dom., lxv., fol. 30, MS.

without me on Thursday last, with bows and arrows, making reckoning to murther many, and to send further some thereof unto you. Nay, if she had killed but one, that one should have been sent, I can assure you. Happily as she thought, after some small pains taken, when she could kill none, she revenged herself upon a stout cock of the game, belonging to your keeper, who is absent. Whereof she will write herself, and withal pray you to send her bows and arrows (which, I pray you, do not, both for that she taketh none, and because I would not have you accessary to the destruction of your said warrens).

"Thus hoping to see your Lordship shortly, I cease further troubling you, and remain

"Your Lordship's most affectionate

"Loving servant,

"HERTFORD.

"From Amesbury, this Monday,
the 15th of July, 1611.

"*Post.*—I thank your Lordship for the fine token of chessmen sent, and contained within the compass of a walnut-shell."

But the dream of love was at an end.

Seymour waited for some time in Holland, hoping that the mediation of the Archduke might possibly soften the hard-hearted King. But the

summer rolled away, and the only signs of relenting were that the King ceased to demand that he should be given up by the foreign powers. And this was from no feeling of mercy. The most important of the victims—the miserable Arabella—was safe locked and barred in the gloomy fortress. Over her prison was written the line of Dante—

"Shut out all hope."

No chance of escape again. All her friends were in prison. Strangers surrounded her, and what more could James desire than that Seymour should remain beyond the sea? His banishment was the best safeguard against plotting, and we hear nothing more of his being delivered up. He was assured of safety in Paris, and thither he purposed to go. Suddenly, rumours reached England that he was in danger of becoming a Roman Catholic. To become a Roman Catholic was to become a plotter against the throne, and the news (which was utterly without foundation) filled the poor old Earl of Hertford with new consternation, and induced him to send off Mr. Pelling, the former tutor of Seymour, to reclaim him from his dangerous error before it was too late. The same fretfulness continues to appear in Hertford's letters.

*the Earl of Hertford to the Earl of Salisbury.**

"My good Lord,—As in all my actions my chief care hath ever been to give his Majesty and the State full contentment when I can; so, in this touching my unfortunate grandchild, William Seymour, I am most desirous to show my readiness, and accordingly have done my uttermost to prevail with Sir John Rodney to undertake this journey unto him. Whose excuse (coming to me hither but yesterday night) is disability of body, and his answer such, notwithstanding all my persuasions, as I neither can nor will any longer depend upon hope of him. The next that I can think fit to offer to your Lordship's consideration is one of my Chaplains named John Pelling, a man whom for learning and integrity of life I made especial choice of when my service of Ambassador was commanded in the Low Countries, assuring myself that if he should find my foolish boy (being heretofore his scholar) waver in the true religion (wherein he hath been both born, bred, and brought up), he would easily make him find his error before he should be confirmed or settled in the devilish, bloody, Jesuitical doctrine.

* State Papers, James, Dom., lxvi., fol. 21, MS.

Of any other likely to do good in this service, I protest upon my honour I cannot think, but will humbly accept and bear the charge of any that his Majesty and your Lordship shall think fit to be employed, and thereunto will add my daily prayer to the Almighty to guide that ingrate boy with his grace in a religious and dutiful course for his soul's health and toward his Majesty and the State, without further hope of comfort to myself, from whom his disobedience and folly have made so grave a separation. I could wish young Rodney were removed away from him, being an unsettled, vain youth, like to do much more hurt than good about him. As for any occasion of my own likely to draw me to London, I do not yet know any, but if in these businesses my presence shall be necessary, upon notice thereof from your Lordship I will not forbear to disease myself in the unwholesome air of London which so much disagreeth with my nature and disposition of body, now in my old age most unfit for mounted travail. And even so, with my very loving commendations, I rest

"Your Lordship's most assured

"Loving friend,

"HERTFORD.

"From Amesbury, this Tuesday night late, the 17th of September, 1611."

*The Earl of Hertford to the Earl of Salisbury.**

"My very good Lord,—By your letters to me of 21st of this month, enclosed in my wife's letter by Browne, one of the Pursuivants, I understand William Seymour, my grandchild, is now in Paris with intent to reside there. Whereof (so it sort with his Majesty's good liking) I am very glad, though his late demeanour hath deserved little at my hands. If there be anything to be further done concerning him, which his Majesty or your Lordship expects from me now he is in France, I will at all times be most humbly ready to attend such directions as, in his Majesty's princely pleasure and your wisdom, shall be held fit, to perform the same to my utmost power, being right sorry I could not prevail with Rodney nor nominate any other so fit as he was to have undertaken that since. And even so desiring your Lordship, out of your professed love (which I shall never give you cause to alienate), to be my honorable guide herein, that I may to my comfort better tread the remainder of my aged steps into my grave, with my unfeigned love, I rest

"Your Lordship's most assured

"Loving friend,

"Hertford.

"From Amesbury, this Friday,
the 27th of September, 1611."

* State Papers, James, Dom., lxvi., fol. 27, MS.

*The Earl of Hertford to the Earl of Salisbury.**

"My good Lord,—As soon after the receipt of your Lordship's letter of 3rd of the last month as this bearer, John Pelling, my Chaplain, could come to me for matters, and after settle his own affairs, and furnish himself for the journey to Paris, I thought good to send him to your Lordship to receive his despatch and such further directions as to your Lordship as to your letter, and which in your Lordship's most honourable wisdom should seem fit. I, for my own part, have only given him order by word of mouth to deliver my mind to my most unfortunate grandchild, William Seymour, to whom he goeth, but therewith (which he desired to have in writing) to acquaint your Lordship that before his going you may alter it at your pleasure. And now there doth only rest that I further acquaint your Lordship with my full intent touching my said grandchild (the sorrow for whose loss is, thanks be to God, almost overcome), which is, sithence I find hope of good conformity in his carriage toward his most excellent Majesty and the State, who may in time restore him to grace, and that I understand his Majesty is pleased I should do

* State Papers, James I., Dom., lxvii., fol. 3, MS.

so, I am content merely to encourage him in a good course so long as his behaviour shall be well approved by his Majesty and the State, out of my poor decayed estate to allow him the same means his Majesty and your Lordship were pleased I should do when he was first committed to the Tower, which was £200 per annum. (So as by your Lordship's good means I may be assigned to pay it quarterly to some good merchant that shall come unto England), whereby I nor any of mine shall need hereafter to have any further traffic with him so long as he doth stand in the terms he now doth through his own exceeding folly. And herewith I beseech your Lordship acquaint his Majesty and the rest of my Lords that my faithful and plain forwardness may be rightly conceived, for which and many other honorable favours I shall be ever ready to acknowledge my unfeigned love and thankfulness; and ever rest

"Your Lordship's very loving,

"Assured friend,

"HERTFORD.

"From Tottenham, this Sunday night late,
the 3rd of November, 1611.

"Postsc.—I have heretofore moved your Lordship by my former letters, that young Rodney may be drawn away from my grandchild, not

only for fear his looseness may do more hurt by his society than any care of other can do good, but for that I understand his friends give him no maintenance, and by that means he is like to be so great a burthen for my grandchild's small means, and do therefore very earnestly pray your Lordship to take some speedy course he may be drawn from thence with this opportunity."

On the 24th of Nov., Hertford wrote another letter to Salisbury to the same effect, especially harping on the removal of young Rodney.*

By the end of the year, Seymour was so far restored to the King's favour, that he ventured to claim some furniture that he had left in his rooms in the Tower at the time of his escape. But Waad, the Lieutenant, made an outcry at such an invasion of his perquisites. The following document is excessively curious, as showing how the prisoners were allowed to live in the Tower.

Sir William Waad, Lieutenant of the Tower, to Salisbury.†

"IT MAY PLEASE YOUR HONORABLE LORDSHIP,—I shall ever hold myself bound in duty and all

* State Papers, James, Dom., lxvii., fol. 57; MS.
† State Papers, James, Dom., lxvii., fol. 94.

just respect to satisfy your Lordship in any matter whatsoever that shall be exhibited against me. And therefore by this my plain and true declaration your good Lordship shall perceive, that not only my poor self, but that honorable personage in whose name the memorial of Mr. Seymour's stuff left behind in the Tower was presented by Mrs. Smythe (as he himself doth acknowledge before me) to the Lady Arbella was abused. Nevertheless, I humbly crave pardon (otherwise than to satisfy your Lordship) that I may respite my answer to any other, until Mr. Seymour who stayed from hence shall himself come to demand anything of me, towards whom by usage I deserved better requital than I find. But to satisfy your Lordship, I may truly affirm, never any serving in this place hath had so troublesome and burdensome a charge as I have had in those few years I have served here, both for number of dangerous prisoners, and others of great quality. And I hope his excellent Majesty and your Lordship will not judge me unworthy of those benefits my predecessors have always enjoyed. For if Mr. Seymour had been by order discharged out of his place, or died here, he must have lost all his stuff, plate, books, and other things whatsoever behind him. And I hope it is not meant his escape (of which here

I will say no more) shall be construed to his benefit, and to my disadvantage. But to show your honorable Lordship how his Lordship is abused therein—First, it may please your Lordship to be informed that Mr. Seymour had not anything from his honorable grandfather, but either from the Lady Arbella, or bought by me, or yet unpaid for.

"For example, in the Memorial there is set down a suit of arras. It is true there was a suit of tapestry bought and paid for by myself upon this agreement between Mr. Seymour and me when he was removed out of my own lodging and chamber, which I forbore a quarter of a year to pleasure him, that he should give me in money so much as *dornys* would cost to hang that chamber, and I would furnish him with a suit of tapestry, which cost me £48, and were with evil usage quite spoiled.

"Where there are two other hangings set down, the one of saye, the other of dornys, the truth is, Mr. Seymour had the same of the upholsterer that doth serve the Tower, but never paid for the same, and though they pertained to me, yet I gave the upholsterer leave to dispose of the same. That of saye was so spoiled as my Lord Grey would not give above £10 for them, and the upholsterer hath them again; the other of dornys are fitted

only for the chamber where they are, and will serve to no other use, for which my Lord Grey hath satisfied the upholsterer as they agreed.

"It is true there was some bedding fetched from my Lady Arabella's house, other taken of the upholsterer, for which he is repaid. So the stuff of the kitchen was fetched from her house, what it may appear, for my own part, I never saw any of it.

"There is mention of a cup worth £40, which I am bold to send to your honorable Lordship to see. It was given by my Lady Mary Peiton, Mr. Seymour's aunt, to my Lady Arbella, and she sent it to Mr. Seymour.

"There was a gown of cuft taffita, which was found on his bed, and other suits, which I made the Reckoning of, as they are put unto chairs and stools; the rest my servants and his had amongst them.

"There were six old silver dishes, four small candlesticks, and 7 trenchers, which were also the Lady Arbella's, who hath use both of those dishes, and of others of mine, and my stuff, which all came but to £40.

"There was a fair basin and ewer, silver, and gilt, which Mr. Seymour sold before his escape, which should not have been carried out of the house if I had known of it. And other of his apparel

was also conveyed away, wherein I was not well dealt withal, and brought again after his Escape.

"For the books, which are valued at £30, beside the worke of Zanchèus, and an Italian and Spanish Bible, the rest are English books and pamphlets of no value.

"Thus your honorable Lordship seeth this great shew comes to small reckoning, but whatsoever it hath been is due unto me.

"It may please your honour to conceive, this demand is made to keep me from that which is owing me for Mr. Seymour's diet,* whereof I received no penny since Christmas last. I will not say the payment was put off until his escape, to defraud me, for my Lord of Hertford gave his word before your honorable Lordships, and further affirmed he would not send any money to Mr. Seymour, but unto me. I spake to Mr. Kyrton often for it, at such time as he came to see me paid. Besides my wife laid out for Mr. Seymour £10 for linen, whereof he never paid penny.

"So Mr. Seymour oweth to me, and
for his linen £48 10
"To the upholsterer £42 10
"To the apothecary, of whom from the
first time he came to the Tower until
his flight, he took physic £32 16

* For the diet of State prisoners see Appendix, II. 8.

"This sum hath been due to me for one whole year for physic Mr. Seymour took at my hands. Whereof there are divers cordials, almond milks, juleps, electuaries, and other things very costly.

"JAMES COLWALL."

"I, in my knowledge do testify that there was Agreement between Mr. Seymour and Mr. Lieutenant, that Mr. Seymour paying him so much money as dornys would cost to hang the Chamber by the Watergate, to which Mr. Seymour was removed, Mr. Lieutenant would furnish him with new tapestry, which agreement and bargain was concluded before me, and thereupon I furnished a suit of tapestry of 5 pieces for that Chamber, whereof one was cut to fit the chimney with which Mr. Lieutenant was much offended. And Mr. Lieutenant did pay me for the said tapestry £47 10s.

"And in other reckoning between Mr. Seymour and me there was never anything demanded for the said tapestry. And the hangings with ill usage are very much impaired.

"THOMAS JENNING."

"I am privy to this agreement, and the money was payed to the upholsterer by me, who doe keepe my master's accounts.

"ROBERT BRAITHWAITE.

"10th December, 1611."

CHAPTER X.

ARABELLA IN THE TOWER.

AS we have seen, Seymour was very mildly regarded by the King. Indeed, compared with Arabella, all seemed to look lightly on his offence, and such interest as there was, appears to have been used on his behalf alone. Not a pleading voice sounded for his wife. How was this? Evidences remain of her kindly feelings to all around her. "She was a very virtuous and good-natured lady, and of great intellectuals, harmless, and gave no offence," says Bishop Goodman, one of the special pleaders in behalf of James. Her society had been a delight to all who knew her, and I find no record of bitterness even to those who were forced to be her keepers. She showed gratitude for the slightest kindness, and hitherto, as we have seen, had not failed to awaken sympathy in her own behalf. Oh, how happy must have appeared her imprisonment at Lambeth now! Never perhaps was there a

greater example of the comparative nature of joy and woe. Seymour in the Tower, Arabella a prisoner in the house of Parry;—they had bewailed their hard lot with anger and grief. But what a Paradise compared with her present lot! Then, from time to time, when the shades of night had thrown their kindly screen over the city, the boat of Seymour had silently glided down the dark river, and for a few hours he was all her own. Then she could count the hours, knowing as they fled that their departure brought her nearer to him. With the hope of ultimate release was mingled the veritable food, the delight positive of his actual presence, giving her an earnest of life and joy. Arabella was a happy woman then. Her griefs were chiefly fears. So much light was mingled with the shadow that the shadow did but make the light more beautiful when it appeared.

But now—now, she "*was left alone with the night.*" We read sensation novels, and excite ourselves over feigned woes and artificial griefs, unheeding of the sure and certain fact, that the highest painted fictitious sentiment is but a faint and feeble representation of the real agonies that distract the human heart. The intense feelings of Arabella were concentrated on one object, and that object was torn away, separated from her by bars and bolts, and stone walls and the deep sea,

and, worse than all, by cruel men who were sure to leave nothing undone to alienate his heart from her. Two reasons existed why Seymour should be regarded with so much more leniency. One was, that he was already at liberty, protected by the favour of the Archduke, and he had only to become a Roman Catholic to be well received in Spain. He was not without power if he chose to use it, and it was therefore advisable to treat him more mildly, as well on his own account as to retain in a good disposition his relations, whose loyalty was necessary to the King. Another reason was, that he had given signs of a willingness to yield. In the fragments that still remain from his hand, there is not a trace of the passionate feeling that animated his wife. If he could be kept separate from her, his weaker nature was likely to bend to the base spirits who urged him, for his temporal good, to sacrifice the highest feelings of his nature. His grandfather had been in precisely similar circumstances, had humbly acknowledged his errors, and was now one of the most loyal servants of the Crown. By letter and message he did all in his power to bring his grandson to the same submission, and there seemed every chance of success.

But with Arabella the case was different. *Her* love nothing would ever change, and James knew that. As long as she lived, her efforts would be

directed to the only thing that now rendered life delightful—a reunion with her husband. Her love of study, of needlework, her wit, her social powers, were completely paralysed so long as she was separated from him. In his presence, they would revive, but were extinguished by solitude—for it was total solitude to be divided from the one to whom her heart was bound. And James had at last discovered that a concentrative mind, allied to strong and passionate feeling, can make no compromise and accept no substitute for what it believes to be its dearest rights. He knew that if Arabella were at liberty, no fear, no prudence, would prevent her from plotting to regain her husband; and it cannot be doubted that had their positions been changed, had Seymour been the prisoner and Arabella the exile, she would have made use of the advantage offered by her liberty to plead and battle for the liberty of the captive. The right course, the just course, was accompanied with risk, and that course James refused to take.

The second imprisonment of Arabella was accompanied with marked indignity. At her capture, the sum of three thousand pounds, and various jewels, were found upon her person. These were by the King's command seized, inventoried, and laid by till his Majesty's pleasure should be

further known. What this pleasure was the following document will show:—

"*Warrant to the Lords of the Council.**

"That they cause all such somes of money as are to be defrayed by his Matie for the charges of apprehension of the Lady Arabella and her company, and her bringing up, to be paid out of such gold as hath been found upon her or in her company, or which hereafter shall be found to have been upon her or in her company at the time of her escape."

The remainder was applied to her creditors. Some of the jewels, however, were abstracted by some dishonest person about the court.

The following notes refer to this:—

"A Letter to the Lords and others of his Majesty's Privy Council, requiring them to give order to Sir William Bowyer, Knight, and Henry Yelverton, Esquire, to cause certain Jewels remaining in the hands of the said Sir W^m^. Bowyer, and found upon the Lady Arbella and her company at her intended departure out of this realm, to be valued and sold at the cost price, and the

* State Papers, Docquet, 1611.

monię thereby made to be paid to such of her creditors as she shall nomynate. And for such monye as was found with her and remayning with the said Bowyer, his Ma^ts^. pleasure is at his sute the same be delyvered to the said Yelverton to discharge a debt of hers for which he is bound."*

A Note of such Jewels as my Lady Arbella affirmeth to be wanting, and desireth they may be inquired after.†

First. A pointed Diamond ring.

Item. A Flower de Luce set with Diamonds, which she thinks is in a little box of wood, and left among her jewels.

Item. In the same box was a ring wherein was set a little sea-water green stone called an emerald.

A little Jewel like a cone, with a yellow stone, called a Jacynth, with opals and rubies. This was also among her jewels.

A Jewel like a star set with opals.

Item. A piece of a chain of gold set with Rubies and Pearls.

Item. Some few pearls set upon a card with other less pearls.

* State Papers, Docquet Book. 1611, Sep. 23.

† Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 141.

A Watch, left in Mr. Bradshaw's trunk at Barnet.

Item. A little chest with wares."*

The luxuries that had been granted to William Seymour were all denied to Arabella, and to judge from her complaints, she was as poorly served as the commonest prisoner. So suspicious was the King, that the strange servants who waited on her probably knew that they were watched, and dared not show the least indulgence. Lady Shrewsbury, too, was treated with a spitefulness such as might be expected from an angry servant. At first she was appointed to the Queen's lodgings with three or four rooms to walk in, but not a single servant was allowed to attend her or a friend to see her, while her apartment was allowed to remain in the most wretched state of dilapidation, as will be seen by Earl Gilbert's letter.

The Earl of Shrewsbury to the Earl of Salisbury.†

"I beseech your Lordship to give order, in writing or otherwise as it pleaseth you, that there may presently be wainscot leaves set up for the nether window in those 2 rooms where my wife liveth and eateth, and so many partition boards

* Appendix II. 9.

† State Papers, James, Dom., lxvi. fol. 62, MS.

to be set up before the doors as in all would make but one small portal, and a piece of a roof mended not half a yard broad and one yard long, at which now the skies may be seen. This is her request to me this morning, to be a suitor for to your Lordship; if this may pass by immediate warrant I desire it, or else not. And so I rest ever,

"Your Lordship's to command,

"GILBERT SHREWSBURY."

After a time, some relaxation was granted. One servant was allowed to attend her constantly, and various others occasionally, while Charles Cavendish was permitted to send her some verses which he had written to amuse her on hearing that she was ill.

But alas for her unhappy niece!

The misery of her mind speedily acted on the weak frame of Arabella, and days spent in weeping and nights passed without sleep, added to the dreary monotony of her prison, had their inevitable effect on so excitable and ardent a nature. Sometimes she worked at a piece of embroidery designed as a present to the King, who refused to accept it, and at others occupied herself with pouring forth those piteous letters and prayers for her release to all whom she had the faintest hope might strive to aid her. The subjoined letters paint,

better than any narrative, her condition of mind at this period. They are the last that exist from her hand.

Lady Arabella Seymour to the King.

"The unfortunate estate whereunto I am fallen by being deprived of your Majesty's presence, the greatest comfort to me upon earth, together with the opinion is conceived of your Majesty's displeasure towards me, hath brought as great affliction to my mind as can be imagined touching the offence for which I am now punished. I most humbly beseech your Majesty, in your most princely wisdom and judgment, to consider in what a miserable state I have been in if I had taken any other course than I did, for my own conscience witnessing before God that I was then the wife of him that now I am, I could never have matched with any other man, but to have lived all the days of my life as an harlot, which your Majesty would have abhorred in any, especially in one who hath the honour (how otherwise unfortunate so ever) to have any drop of your Majesty's blood in him. But I will trouble your Majesty not longer, but in all humility attending your Majesty's good pleasure for that liberty (the want thereof depriveth

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 87.

me of all health and all other worldly comfort), I will never forget to pray for your Majesty's most happy prosperity for ever in all things, and so remain,

"Your Majesty's most humble

"And faithful subject and servant."

*Fragment of a Letter from Lady Arabella Stuart to Viscount Fenton.**

"That unless it please his Majesty to shew me mercy, and that I may receive from you at least some hope of regaining his Majesty's favour again, it will not be possible for me to undergo the great burthen of his princely displeasure, good my lord considered the fault cannot be uncommitted, neither can any more be required of an earthly creature but confession and most humble submission, which, if it would please you to present to his Majesty, whose favour I crave far above any worldly comfort, I cannot doubt but his Majesty would be pleased to mitigate his displeasure, and let me receive comfort. I wish your Lordship would in a few lines understand my misery, for my weakness is such that writing is very painful to me and cannot be pleasant to any to read. From your hand, my lord, I received the first

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 154.

favour, which favour if I may obtain from your lordship's hand in my greatest necessity, I shall ever acknowledge myself bound to you for it, and the rest of my life shall shew how highly I esteem his Majesty's favour. The Almighty send you health, and make you his good means to help me out of this great grief.

"Your so most distressed friend."

*From a Petition of Lady Arabella Seymour to the King.**

"In all humility—in most humble wise—the most wretched and unfortunate creature that ever lived, prostrates itself at the feet of the most merciful King that ever was, desiring nothing but mercy and favour, not being more afflicted for anything than for the loss of that which hath been this long time the only comfort it had in the world, and which if it were to do again, I would not adventure the loss of for any other worldly comfort. Mercy it is I desire, and that for God's sake. Let either Freake or—" (Here the MS. is torn away.)

Lady Arabella Seymour to Lord ——†

"My Lord,—My extremity constraining me to

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 146.

† Ibid., fol. 149.

labour to all my friends to become suitors to his Majesty for his pardon of my fault, and my weakness not permitting me to write particularly, I have made choice of your Lordship, humbly beseeching you to move as many as have any compassion of my affliction, to join in humble mediation to his Majesty to forgive me, the most penitent and sorrowful creature that breathes.

"Your distressed cousin,

"A. S."

*Lady Arabella Seymour to the King.**

"May it please your most Excellent Majesty to regard with the eyes of your Royal and gracious heart the unfortunate state of your Majesty's handmaid, who, knowing your gracious favour to her to be the greatest honour, comfort, and felicity that the world can afford her, doth now feel any part of the contrary to be the most grievous affliction to her that can be imagined wherein-soever . Your Majesty will say I have offended, and will not contest, but in all humility prostrate myself at your Majesty's feet, only I do most humbly on my knees beseech your Majesty to believe that thought never yet entered into my heart to do anything that might deserve any part of your indignation, but is the necessity of my

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 85.

state and fortune together with my weakness have caused me to do somewhat not pleasing to your Majesty. Most gracious Sovereign, let it be covered with the shadow of your gracious benignity and pardon in that heroical mind of yours, which is never closed to those who carry a most loyal heart to your Sovereignty, a most sincere and dutiful affection to your person. And that prayeth for the most happy prosperity of your Majesty and most gracious Queen and your royal issue in all things for ever, amongst whose number, Almighty God, who knoweth the secrets of all hearts, knoweth me to be one who am also

"Your Majesty's

"Most humble, faithful

"Subject and servant.

*From Lady Arabella Seymour to Lord (Northampton?)**

"My Lord,—The long acquaintance betwixt us, and the good experience of your honorable dealing heretofore, maketh me not only hope, but be most assured, that if you knew my most discomfortable and distressed estate you would acquaint his Majesty withal, and consequently procure my relief and redress, as you have done

* Harl. MS. 7003, fol. 153.

other times. I have been sick even to the death, from which it hath pleased God miraculously to deliver me for this present danger, but find myself so weak by reason I have wanted those ordinary helps whereby most others in my case, be they never so poor or unfortunate soever, are preserved alive at least for charity, that unless I may be suffered to have those about me that I may trust, this sentence, my Lord Treasurer, pronounced after his Majesty refusing that trifle of my work by your persuasion, as I take it, will prove the certain and apparent cause of my death, whereof I thought good to advertise you, that you both may be the better prepared in case you, or either of you, have possessed the King with such opinions of me as thereupon I shall be suspected and restrained till help come too late; and be assured that neither physician nor other but when I think good shall come about me whilst I live, till I have his Majesty's favour, without which I desire not to live; and if you remember of old, I dare die so I be not guilty of my own death, and oppress others with my ruin too, if there be no other way, as God forbid; to whom I commit you, and rest as assuredly as heretofore if you be the same to me,

"Your Lordship's faithful friend,

"A. S.

"I can neither get clothes nor posset at all, for example, nor anything but ordinary diet nor compliment fit for a sick body in my case, when I call for it."

CHAPTER XI.

THE LAST SCENE.

THE allusions contained in the last letter were no empty threat. It was probably the cruel treatment she received at Barnet that gave Arabella the first blow that, even then, threatened to unhinge her brain. A happy life, ease and tenderness, might have warded off the ill effects. But the terrible sequel brought back the danger, and the incoherence of the last letter is but the prelude to the dark shadow which finally deepened into blackest night—a night not even blest with sleep and oblivion, but peopled with dismal phantasies and disturbed by the ghosts of joys that could never more return. Arabella was fast losing her reason.

> "With woeful measures, wan DESPAIR,
> Low, sullen sounds her grief beguiled,
> A solemn, strange, and mingled air,
> 'Twas sad by fits—by starts 'twas wild."

But as hope died away to Arabella, it became brighter to Seymour. He received the tidings

that he was to be allowed to remain abroad unmolested, and with gratitude wrote thus to the Privy Council:—

*William Seymour to the Lords of the Council.**

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST HONORABLE LORDSHIPS.—It is no small comfort unto me in my hard misfortunes that I have now opportunity whereby I may shew mine obedience unto his sacred Majesty and the State. Were the things commanded one never so difficult (which I must needs confess proceeds all from his Majesty's most gracious clemency beyond my desert), God is my witness, I would obey and undergo them with as great alacrity as the things I most desire. I acknowledge myself beyond measure bound to your Lordships for the very mild proceedings which through your honourable mediations I have found, and this encourageth me farther to become an humble suitor unto your Lordships for procuring the increase of his most royal Majesty's goodness and benignity towards me, which, while I have breath, with my utmost endeavours I will duly study to deserve, and rest always

"To be commanded by your Lordships in all things, "W. SEYMOUR."

* State Papers, James, Dom., lxviii. fol. 44, MS.

Lady Shrewsbury, though still a prisoner, was also granted many indulgences. She was allowed the Liberty of the Tower, and even permitted a short respite to wait on her husband, who was attacked with illness. It is even possible that she might have regained her liberty, had not Arabella, who was no longer responsible for what she said, made some incoherent accusation against her aunt which caused James again to shut her up in close constraint till she should answer his interrogatories.* She still proudly refused to answer anything in private, but declared her willingness to submit to a public examination. On the 2nd of July, 1612, she was called before the Privy Council and Judges at the Lord Chancellor's, where she was "charged by the attorney and solicitor-general, and by *all* the lords and judges, with contempt towards the King by refusing at the first summons to answer all questions." Her persistent refusal, it was said, greatly aggravated her fault, as well as the scornful terms she used towards some of the lords. Her conduct, it was said, might prove of dangerous consequence. She again urged "the privilege of her person and nobility, and a rash vow which she could not violate." She was then, after a fruitless discussion, sent back to the Tower, with a menace of a proceeding

* Chamberlayne's Letters.

in the Star Chamber if she persisted in her wilfulness.*

The death of Lord Beauchamp, in July, 1612, brought William Seymour a step nearer the Succession, and by so much rendered it more dangerous for Arabella to join him. But there was little fear of that now. At times her intellect showed signs of its former brightness, and a feigned cheerfulness took the place of her wild despair. Who shall say what these mock smiles cost her, or on what piteous hopes of moving the tyrant by such a semblance of resignation they were founded! Such a hollow performance was it when, "to express her joy" at the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth, she decked herself in courtly robes, and "provided herself with four gowns, whereof one cost £1500." But the pitiful artifice was a failure. The princess, in all the joy of bridal pomp and happiness, had not a thought for her miserable cousin in the Tower.

Early in March, 1613, Arabella was attacked with convulsions and declared distracted by the physician; a declaration which probably saved the Countess of Shrewsbury, by invalidating the accusations of Arabella against her.†

On the 13th of May, 1613, Sir William Waad,

* Chamberlayne's Letters. See, also, Appendix. II. 10.

† Appendix, II. 11.

the Lieutenant of the Tower, was discharged from his place, "to the great contentment of the prisoners." He was accused of embezzling the lost jewels of Arabella; but whether he or his wife or daughter took them was not clearly proved.

But one friend seems to have not forgotten Arabella—her faithful servant Crompton. He had by some means succeeded in obtaining his liberty, and in November, 1613, had formed another plan for her escape. The particulars are unknown. The plan, however, is alluded to in three places. 1st. In a letter of Lord Northampton to Somerset, in which he says, "With much ado, and withal by very good fortune, we have hit upon the place destined to the escape. It falls out to be under a study of Mr. Revenes (Ruthven's?), but of these things I shall have occasion before it be long to deal thoroughly. In the meantime his Majesty will be pleased to reserve this secret from all the world but yourself, till we sound the bottom, for it hath thus far been carried with a great deal of art."*

The other allusion is contained in a letter of August 6, 1614, from the Rev. Thos. Lorkin to Sir Thos. Puckering, and is as follows:—"The Tower, whither were committed about a fortnight since certain servants of the Lady

* State Papers, James, Dom., lxxv. fol. 7, MS.

Arbella's—Crompton, Reeves, and Dr. Palmer, the cause whereof is said to be some new complot for her escape and delivery."

The third allusion is in a letter July 7, 1614, of Chamberlayne's to Carlton:—"One Dr. Palmer, a divine, and Crompton, a gentleman usher, were committed to the Tower last week for me business about the Lady Arbella, who, they say, is far out of frame this Midsummer moon."

Yes, the poor victim was fast drawing to the close of her earthly sufferings. And James, as he marked this, extended more and more his favour to Seymour, holding out hopes of his return, in which the old Earl joined. The following letter coldly contrasts with the actual condition of one so near:—

*The Earl of Hertford to Lord Salisbury.**

"My very good Lord,—By a message from his Majesty touching my grandchild, William Seymour, in France, received when 2 days after I last spake with your Lordship in the Parliament house, I was drawn to wait on his Majesty at Greenwich, and did then find your noble care of me, your poor friend, which I did purpose before this time with due thanks personally to acknow-

* State Papers, James, Dom., lxxvii. fol. 39, MS.

ledge, and to acquaint your Lordship with the particular passages, but that journey did so increase the cold wherewith I was possessed before, as indeed sithence enforced me to keep home, and for my better health depart the town before I could take opportunity to speak with your Lordship. I hope his majesty will vouchsafe to acknowledge that out of my sincere heart I have satisfied him in each particular, and do earnestly desire your Lordship, as my noble friend on whom I rely, to continue that your Lordship's good work of holding me in his Majesty's favour and good opinion, that have ever preferred his princely pleasure before my own profit or desire. I understand by your Lordship's servant, Mr. Parker, you have been pleased to obtain of his Majesty the passage of those markets I was set for, and do heartily thank your Lordship for the same, this being my first suit obtained sithence his Majesty's most happy reign, grounded upon my hope of the advancement of his Majesty's service at the instant desire of my poor tenants in places where ancient markets have been. And now, lastly, my good Lord, thus emboldened by your noble kindness, I beseech you, as occasion is offered, to express unto his Majesty my unfeigned zeal and readiness to minister supply in all his service according to my utmost

power, having by this bearer, my servant, James Kyrton, sent in my mite toward these present occasions, less than my heart could afford, though agreeing with my weak ability and overcharged estate. And thus having been over tedious and too bold with your Lordship, which I pray you excuse, with my heartiest and unfeigned good wishes, I rest

"Your Lordship's most assured
"loving friend,
"HERTFORD.

"From Littleton, this
Fryday, ye 17th June, 1614."

So cold appears the feeling, so indifferent the interest of the two men from whom, of all the world, Arabella could justly claim sympathy, that we are compelled to ask whether *all* the blame is to be given to James; or whether the cruel neglect and fickle affection of the heart she had so dearly loved had not as large a share in causing the sufferings that destroyed her brilliant intellect and turned to torture those feelings that nature had given for joy. Nothing is left but conjecture. *Perhaps* Seymour, who had won her in her days of happiness, wrote fond letters of consolation to her in her misery. *Perhaps* he assured her of his undying love and his faithfulness through all. That he assumed an unfeel-

ing, hard appearance before the world is no proof of his selfishness, because any outward manifestation of better thoughts could do nothing but injury to the one who had sacrificed all for him. The appearance of indifference was the only way to disarm the anger of the King, and that, in after years, Seymour was faithful through all dangers to an unworthy friend, allows us to hope that the records of his truth to a far higher and nobler soul once existed—that now they are only destroyed.

But one thing is certain, that Arabella never received his letters. *They* would have preserved her reason, possibly her life. It was not alone imprisonment, it was despair, that broke her heart.

"On the 25th of September, 1615," says Nichols, "that ill-fated and persecuted lady, Arabella Seymour, daughter of Charles, Earl of Lennox, cousin-german of Henry Darnley, father of King James, died in the Tower of London."*

In the dead of night, the daughter of a line of kings was carried from the Tower along the black river to Westminster Abbey, and there deposited in the royal vault beneath the coffin of Mary, Queen of Scots. All pomp and ceremony were forbidden. The burial service was read as if by

* Appendix, II. 12.

stealth over some felon's grave, not for any fault of her own, but "because to have a great funeral for one dying out of the King's favour would have reflected upon the King's honour."*

For more than two centuries Arabella Seymour has been lying in her unhonoured grave in the Chapel of Henry VII. No monument rises above her ashes; not even an epitaph marks the spot where they repose. Her very name is ignored by the recorder's hand.

* Bishop Goodman.

APPENDIX I.

POEMS ON LADY ARABELLA STUART.

1.

THE following curious ballad is given, certainly not for any beauty, but because it was written in the reign of James I., and illustrates the propensity to turn into doggerel any romance of the day. It is headed by a hideous illustration in the original copy.

THE TRUE LOVERS' KNOT UNTIED.*

Being the right Path whereby to advise Princely Virgins how to behave themselves by the example of the Renowned Princess the Lady Arabella and the Second Son of the Lord Seymore, late Earl of Hertford. To the Tune of Frogs Galliard, &c.

Licensed and Entered according to Order.

As I to Ireland did pass,
I saw a Ship at anchor lay;
Another Ship likewise there was,
Which from fair England took her way.

* Printed by and sold for A. M., and sold by the booksellers of London. [Roxburgh Ballads, vol. ii. p. 468.]

This Ship that sailed from fair England,
Unknown unto our gracious King,
The Lord Chief Justice did command
That they to England should her bring.

I drew more near, and saw more plain
Lady Arabella in distress;
She wrung her hands and wept amain,
Bewailing of her heaviness.

When near fair London Tower she came,
Whereat her landing place should be,
The King and Queen, with all their train,
Did meet this Lady gallantly.

"How now, Arabella," said our King,
Unto this Lady straight did say,
"Who hath first tied ye to this thing,
That you from England took your way?"

"None but myself, my gracious Liege.
These ten long years I've been in love
With the Lord Seymor's second son,
The Earl of Hartford, so we prove.

"Though he be not the mightiest man
Of goods and livings in the land,
Yet I have lands us to maintain;
So much your grace doth understand.

"My lands and livings are well known
Unto your books of Majesty,
Amounts to twelvescore pound a week,
Besides what I do give," quoth she.

"In gallant Darbyshire, likewise,
I ninescore beadsmen maintain there,
With hats and gowns and house-rent free,
And every man five marks a year.

"I never raised Rent," said she,
"Nor yet oppressed the tenant poor.
I never took no bribes for fines,
For why I had enough before.

"Whom of your nobles will do so,
For to maintain the Commonalty,
Such multitudes would never grow,
Nor be such store of Poverty.

"I would I had a milkmaid been,
Or born of some more low degree,
Then I might have loved where I like,
And no man could have hindered me.

"Or would I were some yeoman's child,
For to receive my portion now,
According unto my degree,
As other virgins as I know.

"The highest branch that soars aloft
Needs must beshade the myrtle tree,
Needs must the shadow of them both
Shadow the third in his degree.

"But when the tree is cut and gone,
And from the ground is bore away,
The lowest tree that there doth stand
In time may grow as high as they.

"Once when I thought to have been Queen,
But yet that still I do deny,
I knew your grace had right to the crown
Before Elizabeth did die.

"You of the eldest sister came,
I of the second in degree,
The Earl of Hartford of the third,
A man of royal blood was he.

"And so good night, my Sovereign Liege,
Since in the Tower I must lie,
I hope your grace will condescend
That I may have my liberty."

"Lady Arabella (said our King),
I to your freedom would consent,
If you would turn and go to Church,
There to receive the Sacrament."

"And so good night, Arabella fair,"
Our King replied to her again:
"I will take counsel of my nobility,
That you your freedom may obtain."

"Once more to prison must I go,"
Lady Arabella then did say,
"To leave my love breeds all my woe,
The which will be our lives' decay.

"Love is a knot none can unknit;
Fancy a liking of the heart;
Him whom I love I cannot forget,
Though from his presence I must part.

"The meanest people enjoy their mates,
But I was born unhappily,
For being crost by cruel fates,
I want both love and liberty.

"But Death, I hope, will end the strife:
Farewell, farewell, my love," quoth she.
"Once I had thought to have been thy wife,
But now am forced to part with thee."

At this sad meeting, she had cause
In heart and mind to grieve full sore;
After that time, Arabella fair
Did never see Lord Seymor more.

2.

EPITAPH ON THE LADY ARABELLA STUART.

By Richard Corbet, Bishop of Norwich.

How do I thank thee, Death, and bless thy Power,
That I have past the Guard and 'scaped the Tower!
And now my Pardon is my Epitaph,
And a small Coffin my poor carcase* hath;
For at thy charge both soul and body were
Enlarged at last, secured from hope and fear,
That among Saints, this amongst Kings is laid,
And that my birth did claim, my death hath paid.

3.

ARABELLA STUART.

(The author of this ballad is unknown, but is supposed by Disraeli to be Mickle. It was first printed in Evans' collection of Ballads.)

Where London's Tower its turrets show,
So stately by the Thames's side,
Fair Arabella, child of woe,
For many a day had sat and sigh'd.

* This word, now applied only to the remains of brutes, in the time of Corbet signified only *corpse*, and was a common expression.

And as she heard the waves arise,
And as she heard the bleak winds roar,
As fast did heave her heartfelt sighs,
And still so fast her tears did pour.

The sun that joy'd the blithesome day,
The moon that cheer'd the night's dull hour,
Still found the fair to grief a prey,
The victim of tyrannic pow'r.

"And why," that hapless lady cried,
"From royal race am I deriv'd?
Had I to peasants been allied,
Happy, tho' poor, I then had liv'd.

"Ambition never won my mind,
For many its victim I have known;
Alas! like me, here once confin'd—
Their hours of peace for ever flown.

"Because by birth to kings allied—
Ah me! how cruel the pretence!
My name offends the ear of pride;
My being born—is my offence.

"Torn from my friends, from all the joys
That virtuous freedom can afford;
But more, my bleeding bosom sighs,
Torn from my love—my wedded lord.

"Alas, dear youth! and must we part,
And shall I see my love no more,
Save when, to soothe my wounded heart,
Beneath my tow'r thy whispers soar?

"When the still night, with darksome shade,
Enwraps these dreary walls around,
Anxious, I listen for thy tread,
O'erjoy'd, I hear thy dear voice sound.

"But who can tell the pangs so keen
That such ill-fated lovers know,
Where tow'rs and bars arise between,
Dark spires above and guards below?

"In vain for me the sun doth rise!
In vain to me the moon doth shine!
The smiling earth ne'er cheers my eyes
Here doom'd in misery to pine.

"And as I hear the waves arise,
And as I hear the bleak winds roar,
Still, still as fast will heave my sighs,
And still as fast my tears must pour."

Now came her lord with lover's speed,
And at the wall thus whisper'd he:
"Arise, my love, nor think of dread,
Thy husband's come to set thee free."

"Th' astonished lady rose with speed,
And saw her lover stand below;—
The blessing that so much I need
Oh, how canst thou on me bestow?"

"Oh, I have brib'd the partial fates—
Descend this ladder, love, to me—
On yonder stream a ship awaits,
To waft us o'er the briny sea."

Fair Arabella heard the tale,
And thrice for joy she turn'd and sigh'd;
Yet ere she let fond hope prevail,
Thus to the hasty youth she cried:

"Lord Seymour, well I know thy heart,
Thy truth and constancy to me;
Yet ne'er from hence would I depart
If aught of harm should hap to thee.

"For know, should we in flight be ta'en,
Th' offended crown would have thy life:
Stay, lest thy zeal should be our bane—
And break the heart of thy poor wife!"

Oh then Lord Seymour waxed pale,
And thrice for grief he sigh'd full sore:
"And now must all my projects fail,
And all my hopes of bliss be o'er?

"Too cruel maid! to let fond fear
Thus dash the hope that ne'er'l return
Oh come, my love—nor wanton tear
The heart that aye for thee doth burn.

"Dear wife, no more our hopes withstan
Descend—or we shall meet no more"—
Then nimbly drew her lily hand,
And down the trembling fair he bore.

And now adown the Thames' fair stream
That lady joyful sail'd away,
While flatt'ring hope, with silver dream,
Her bosom sooth'd the live-long day.

And now she cried, "Adieu to woe!
Smooth as the gentle stream I see,
My future hours in peace shall flow,
Enrich'd with love and liberty.

"And tho' I see the waves arise,
And tho' I hear the rude winds roar,
Yet still no more shall heave my sighs,
Nor down my cheeks the salt tears po

But now the storm began to low'r,
And frighted hope dissolv'd to air
(That faithless phantom of an hour!)
And left the lady to despair.

In vain was spread the swelling sail,
In vain they steer before the wind;
For tyranny would still prevail,
And strive to chain the free-born mind.

The hapless lady to regain,
Arm'd ships spread all the ocean o'er;
And grim despair bestrode the main,
To seize the victim of his pow'r.

And they have ta'en that hapless fair,
And to the dreary Tow'r have borne;
Nor heed the pangs of keen despair
With which her breaking heart is torn.

There low she lies, absorb'd in grief;
And more to edge its poignancy,
She trembles for a husband's life,
More dear to her than liberty.

There doomed her future life to wear,
No more the balm of hope to know,
She yields her to the fiend despair,
That points the barbed dart of woe.

And as she hears the waves arise,
And as she hears the bleak winds roar,
As fast do heave her heartfelt sighs,
And still so fast her salt tears pour.

4.

ARABELLA STUART.

By Mrs. Hemans.

I.

'Twas but a dream! I saw the stag leap free,
Under the boughs where early birds were singing;
I stood o'ershadowed by the greenwood tree,
And heard, it seemed, a sudden bugle ringing
Far through a royal forest. Then the fawn
Shot, like a gleam of light, from grassy lawn
To secret covert; and the smooth turf shook,
And lilies quivered by the glade's lone brook,
And young leaves trembled, as, in fleet career,
A princely band with horn, and hound, and spear,
Like a rich masque swept forth. I saw the dance
Of their white plumes, that bore a silvery glance
Into the deep wood's heart; and all passed by
Save one—I met the smile of ONE clear eye,
Flashing out joy to mine. Yes, THOU wert there,
Seymour! A soft wind blew the clustering hair
Back from thy gallant brow, as thou didst rein
Thy courser, turning from that gorgeous train,
And fling, methought, thy hunting spear away,
And, lightly graceful in thy green array,
Bound to my side. And we that met and parted
Ever in dread of some dark watchful power,
Won back to childhood's trust, and fearless hearted,

Blent the glad fulness of our thoughts that hour,
Even like the mingling of sweet streams, beneath
Dim woven leaves, and midst the floating breath
Of hidden forest flowers.

II.

'Tis past! I wake,
A captive, and alone, and far from thee,
My love and friend! Yet fostering, for thy sake,
A quenchless hope of happiness to be;
And feeling still my woman spirit strong,
In the deep faith which lifts from earthly wrong
A heavenward glance. I know, I know our love
Shall yet call gentle angels from above,
By its undying fervour, and prevail—
Sending a breath, as of the spring's first gale,
Through hearts now cold; and, raising its bright face,
With a free gush of sunny tears, erase
The characters of anguish. In this trust,
I bear, I strive, I bow not to the dust,
That I may bring thee back no faded form,
No bosom chilled and blighted by the storm;
But all my youth's first treasures, when we meet,
Making past sorrow by communion sweet.

III.

And thou, too, art in bonds! Yet droop thou not,
O my beloved! there is *one* hopeless lot,

But one, and that not ours. Beside the dead
There sits the grief that mantles up its head,
Loathing the laughter and proud pomp of light,
When darkness, from the vainly doting sight,
Covers its beautiful! If thou wert gone
To the grave's deep bosom, with thy radiant brow—
If thy deep thrilling voice, with that low tone
Of earnest tenderness, which now—even now,
Seems floating through my soul, were music taken
For ever from the world—oh! thus forsaken
Could I bear on? Thou livest, thou livest, thou'rt mine!
With this glad thought I make my heart a shrine,
And by the lamp which quenchless there shall burn,
Sit a lone watcher for the day's return.

IV.

And lo! the joy that cometh with the morning,
Brightly victorious o'er the hours of care!
I have not watched in vain, serenely scorning
The wild and busy whispers of despair.
Thou hast sent tidings, as of heaven—I wait
The hour, the sign, for blessed flight to thee.
Oh! for the skylark's wing that seeks its mate
As a star shoots! but on the breezy sea
We shall meet soon. To think of such an hour!
Will not my heart, o'erburdened by its bliss,

Faint and give way within me, as a flower
Borne down and perishing by noontide's kiss?
Yet shall I *fear* that lot—the perfect rest,
The full deep joy of dying on thy breast,
After long suffering won? So rich a close
Too seldom crowns with peace affection's woes.

V.

Sunset! I tell each moment. From the skies
The last red splendour floats along my wall,
Like a king's banner! And it melts, it dies!
I see one star—I hear—'twas not the call,
Th' expected voice; my quick heart throbbed too soon.
I must keep vigil till yon rising moon
Shower down less golden light. Beneath her beam,
Through my lone lattice poured, I sit and dream
Of summer-lands afar, where holy love,
Under the vine or in the citron grove,
May breathe from terror.
Now the night grows deep,
And silent as its clouds, and full of sleep.
I hear my veins beat. Hark! a bell's slow chime!
My heart strikes with it. Yet again—'tis time!
A step! a voice! or but a rising breeze?
Hark!—haste!—I come to meet thee on the seas!

VI.

Now never more, oh! never, in the worth
Of its pure cause, let sorrowing love on earth
Trust fondly—never more! The hope is crushed
That lit my life, the voice within me hushed
That spoke sweet oracles; and I return
To lay my youth, as in a burial urn,
Where sunshine may not find it. All is lost!
No tempest met our barks—no billow tossed;
Yet were they severed, even as we must be,
That so have loved, so striven our hearts to free
From their close-coiling fate! In vain—in vain!
The dark links meet, and clasp themselves again,
And press out life. Upon the deck I stood,
And a white sail came gliding o'er the flood
Like some proud bird of ocean; then mine eye
Strained out, one moment earlier to descry
The form it ached for, and the bark's career
Seemed slow to that fond yearning: it drew near,
Fraught with our foes! What boots it to recall
The strife, the tears? Once more a prison wall
Shuts the green hills and woodlands from my sight,
And joyous glance of waters to the light,
And thee, my Seymour, thee!
I will not sink:
Thou, thou hast rent the heavy chain that bound thee!

And this shall be my strength—the joy to think
That thou mayst wander with heaven's breath around thee,
And all the laughing sky! This thought shall yet
Shine o'er my heart, a radiant amulet,
Guarding it from despair. The bonds are broken;
And unto me, I know, thy true love's token
Shall one day be deliverance, though the years
Lie dim between them, o'erhung with mists of tears.

VII.

My friend! my friend! where art thou? Day by day,
Gliding like some dark mournful stream away,
My silent youth flows from me. Spring the while
Comes and rains beauty on the kindling boughs
Round hall and hamlet; summer with her smile
Fills the green forest, young hearts breathe their vows;
Brothers long parted meet; fair children rise
Round the glad board; hope laughs from loving eyes:
All this is in the world!—there joys lie sown,
The dew of every path! On *one* alone
Their freshness may not fall—the stricken deer
Dying of thirst with all the waters near.

VIII.

Ye are from dingle and fresh glade, ye flowers!
By some kind hand to cheer my dungeon sent;
O'er you the oak shed down the summer showers,
And the lark's nest was where your bright cups bent,
Quivering to breeze and raindrop, like the sheen
Of twilight stars. On you heaven's eye hath been.
Through the leaves pouring its dark sultry blue
Into your glowing hearts; the bee to you
Hath murmured, and the rill. My soul grows faint
With passionate yearning, as its quick dreams paint
Your haunts by dell and stream—the green, the free,
The full of all sweet sound—the shut from me!

IX.

There went a swift bird singing past my cell—
O Love and Freedom! ye are lovely things!
With you the peasant on the hills may dwell,
And by the streams. But I—the blood of kings,
A proud unmingling river, through my veins
Flows in lone brightness, and its gifts are chains!
Kings! I had silent visions of deep bliss,
Leaving their thrones far distant; and for this

I am cast under their triumphal car,
An insect to be crushed! Oh, heaven is far—
Earth pitiless!
Dost thou forget me, Seymour? I am proved
So long, so sternly! Seymour, my beloved!
There are such tales of holy marvels done
By strong affection, of deliverance won
Through its prevailing power! Are these things told
Till the young weep with rapture, and the old
Wonder, yet dare not doubt; and thou! oh, thou!
Dost thou forget me in my hope's decay?—
Thou canst not! Through the silent night, even now,
I, that need prayer so much, awake and pray
Still first for thee. O gentle, gentle friend!
How shall I bear this anguish to the end?

Aid! comes there yet no aid? The voice of blood
Passes heaven's gate, even ere the crimson flood
Sinks through the greensward! Is there not a cry
From the wrung heart, of power, through agony,
To pierce the clouds? Hear, Mercy! hear me! None
That bleed and weep beneath the smiling sun
Have heavier cause! Yet hear!—my soul grows dark!
Who hears the last shriek from the sinking bark

On the mid seas, and with the storm alone,
And bearing to the abyss, unseen, unknown,
Its freight of human hearts? Th' o'ermastering wave!
Who shall tell how it rushed—and none to save!

Thou hast forsaken me! I feel, I know,
There would be rescue if this were not so:
Thou'rt at the chase; thou'rt at the festive board;
Thou'rt where the red wine free and high is poured;
Thou'rt where the dancers meet! A magic glass
I set within my soul, and proud shapes pass,
Flushing it o'er with pomp from bower and hall:
I see one shadow—stateliest there of all—
Thine! What dost *thou* amidst the bright and fair
Whispering light words and mocking my despair?
It is not well of thee! My love was more
Than fiery song may breathe, deep thought explore;
And there thou smilest, while my heart is dying,
With all its blighted hopes around it lying:
Even thou, on whom they hung their last green leaf—
Yet smile, smile on! too bright art thou for grief!

Death! What! is death a locked and treasured thing,
Guarded by swords of fire? a hidden spring,

A fabled fruit, that I should thus endure,
As if the world within me held no cure?
Wherefore not spread free wings—Heaven, heaven! control
These thoughts!—they rush—I look into my soul
As down a gulf, and tremble at the array
Of fierce forms crowding it! Give strength to pray!
So shall their dark host pass.

The storm is stilled:
Father in heaven! Thou, only Thou, canst sound
The heart's great deep, with floods of anguish filled,
For human line too fearfully profound.
Therefore forgive, my Father! if Thy child,
Rocked on its heaving darkness, hath grown wild,
And sinned in her despair! It well may be
That thou wouldst lead my spirit back to Thee,
By the crushed hope too long on this world poured—
The stricken love which hath perchance adored
A mortal in Thy place! Now let me strive
With Thy strong arm no more! Forgive, forgive!
Take me to peace!

And peace at last is nigh;
A sign is on my brow, a token sent
Th' o'erwearied dust from home: no breeze flits by

But calls me with a strange sweet whisper, blent
Of many mysteries.

Hark! the warning tone
Deepens—its word is *Death!* Alone, alone!
And sad in youth, but chastened, I depart,
Bowing to heaven. Yet, yet my woman's heart
Shall wake a spirit and a power to bless
Even in this hour's o'ershadowing fearfulness,
Thee, its first love! Oh, tender still, and true!
Be it forgotten if mine anguish threw
Drops from its bitter fountain on thy name,
Though but a moment!

Now, with fainting frame,
With soul just lingering on the flight begun,
To bind for thee its last dim thoughts in one,
I bless thee! Peace be on thy noble head,
Years of bright fame, when I am with the dead!
I bid this prayer survive me, and retain
Its might, again to bless thee, and again!
Thou hast been gathered into my dark fate
Too much; too long, for my sake, desolate
Hath been thine exiled youth; but now take back,
From dying hands, thy freedom, and retrack
(After a few kind tears for her whose days
Went out in dreams of thee) the sunny ways
Of hope, and find thou happiness! Yet send

Even then, in silent hours, a thought, dear friend,
Down to my voiceless chamber; for thy love
Hath been to me all gifts of earth above,
Though bought with burning tears! It is the sting
Of death to leave that vainly precious thing
In this cold world! What were it, then, if thou,
With thy fond eyes, wert gazing on me now?
Too keen a pang! Farewell! and yet once more,
Farewell! The passion of long years I pour
Into that word! Thou hear'st not—but the woe
And fervour of its tones may one day flow
To thy heart's holy place! there let them dwell.
We shall o'ersweep the grave to meet. Farewell!

APPENDIX II.

1.

THE HOUSE AT HACKNEY.

THE Earl of Lennox, husband of Margaret, received for his services against Scotland some of the spoils of the ruined house of Percy. They received a permanent grant of the Percy residence at Hackney—a place which Margaret retained to the last hour of her life.

2.

In a very curious old manuscript of the time of Elizabeth, in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, entitled "The Discourse of Fragueta," occurs the following:—

"The King of Scotland is under little obligation to the Queen Elizabeth, even if she have named him her heir, because he claims the crown as a right, and can be very certain that had she known she could establish the Lady Arabella, she would have done it."

3.

Letter of Sir Thomas Challoner. The following letter will be found in the Calendar of State Papers,

Foreign Series, for the year 1559. The *first* part of this letter is quoted in Mr. Froude's "Elizabeth," in the remarks on Katherine Grey :—

Sir Thomas Challoner to Cecil.

"The King here (Philip II.) (perceiving that the French were determined to make war against England in the title of the Scottish Queen, and making full account to win it by conquest, knowing its weakness of men of war, government, and treasure, and that it was much divided for matters of religion), was jealous of the French King, if he became so strong as to be King of the three kingdoms. His Council thought how he might both geg the French King and also have a title to the crown of England—namely, by the conveying out of the realm of the Lady Katherine, who is supposed to be the real heir to the realm, and marry her to the Prince his son, or some other smaller personage, as occasion should serve.

"These persuasions were used to make the matter easier to be accomplished—viz., the said lady was in the sight of the Queen great displeasure, who could not well abide the sight of her. The Duchess her mother, with her father-in-law, did not love her, and chiefly her uncle would in no wise abide to hear of her, so that she lived as it were in

great despair. She had spoken very arrogant and unseemly words in the hearing of the Queen and others standing by. It was hence thought that she could be enticed away if some trusty body spoke with her. They suggested the mother of the maids (not one of the best or honestest of livers), or the Countess of Feria, but the Count would in no wise agree that his wife should tarry any longer in England, he having a great misliking of her evil usage at the Queen's hands after his departure, nor yet would he return for many respects, but chiefly because he would not suffer quietly the evil entreating his wife in his absence. The Lady Montague was named, also the wife of the Lord John Grey, but it was thought that the one loved her husband too well to keep the matter secret. The Lady Hungerford was named, and last of all the Earl of Arundel, who was said to have sold his lands and was ready to flee out of the realm with the money, because he could not abide in England if Mr. Pickering should marry the Queen, for they were enemies.

"The writer does not know whether the Lady Katherine or any of the parties before rehearsed are privy to these practises, or whether they are only thought meetest by some on this side. But if the French King had lived, Cecil would perhaps have seen something thereof. But since his death the writer has heard no more, though some others

also said that the King should sit quietly, and let England and France war together until they were both well spent, and then he might rule them both as he listed, and take England to himself."

To this may be added the following short extract from a letter of Sir William Cecil to Throgmorton :—

Cecil to Throgmorton, Aug. 26, 1561.*

"The Lady Catherine is in the Tower ..... though herself remain prisoner, nobody can appear privy to the marriage nor to the love but maids, or women going for maidens. The Queen's Majesty thinketh, and so do others with her, that some greater drift was in this, *but for my part I can find none such.*

"From Stortford."

4.

FURNITURE AND WARDROBE OF LADY KATHERINE HERTFORD.†

Sir Edward Warner to Sir William Cecil.

"The stuff my Lady Kateryne had, I wish it were seen it was delivered by the Queen's com-

* Hardwick Papers, i. p. 177.
† Lansdowne MS. vii. 32.

mandment, and she hath worn it now two years full, most of it is so torn and tattered with her monkeys and dogs as it will serve to small purpose. Besides this, she hath one other chamber furnished with stuff of mine, the which is almost all marred also. Now sir, I would be loth to have any more business with my Lord Chamberlain, if it please you to move a word to him that I may quietly enjoy it, for that it was delivered by the Queen's pleasure, I trust he will so be content. If I have it not, some of it is fitter to be given away otherwise than to be restored to the Wardrobe again, and it I justify with my hand. If he like not that I shall have the bed of down, I shall be content to forbear it. I send here enclosed a bill of parcels with some notes in the margin truly written.

"From Plumstead, near Norwich."

Stuff destined in August, 1561, by the Queen's Commandment and the Lord Chamberlain's Warrant.

By Sir William Bentley out of the Wardrobe in the Tower, to Sir Edward Warner, Knight, then Lieutenant of the said Tower, for the necessary furniture of the Lady Katherine Grey's Chamber, Prisoner there :—

*This of divers sorts and very old and torn. *First, six pieces of hangings of Tapestry to hang her chamber.

*Coarse. *Item. Three window pieces of the like stuff.

*All so broken not worth 6d. *Item. A sparver for a bed of changeable silk damask.

*Stark nought. *Item. One silk quilt of red, striped with gold.

*Stark nought. *Item. One bed and bolster of down, with two pillows of down.

Item. One white linen quilt stuffed with wool.

Item. Four pair of fustians, the one of six breadths, the other of five.

*The wool is all worn away of them. *Item. Two Carpets of Turkey making.

Item. One small window carpet.

*Nothing worth. *Item. One chair of cloth of gold raised with crimson velvet, with two pommels of copper gilt, and the Queen's Arms on the back.

An old thing. Item. One cushion of purple velvet.

Item. Two footstools covered with green velvet.

Item. One cupboard joined.

Item. One bed and bolster, and a counterpane for her woman.

Among the Wardrobe orders of Queen Elizabeth also occurs the following:—

"Given to the Lady Katheryne Grey, oone open gowne of black vellat layon, with 3 passamayne lases faced with an unshorne vellat and edged with a fringe lyned throughout with black sarcenet."

5.

*Lord John Grey to Sir William Cecil.**

"I perceive by my Wiffe that Newedegate shewed you bokes or billes of my Lorde of Hartfordes charges here for my Ladye, in the which one parcell thereof is that my Ladie shulde paye 80^{li} a month for herselfe and her folckes here. Well, Cowsegne Cecill, it is not the first time that Newdegate hathe both abused and misused me with his Slanderous reapportes to divers others besides you. He hath with no small bragging wordes tolde my Lady Clinton that if he were my Lorde of Hartforde, he wolde not bear it at my handes, that his wiffe shuld sende any Letters either to the Queene or Counsell without his knowledge, and that he wolde make me repente it. What other unseamlye words he spake, My Lady Clinton can tell; whether this be good Counsell

* Lansdowne MS. vii. fol. 119.

geven to my Lorde, considering the great charge by your Letters, I received my Ladye withall, and fytt for me to beare at his handes, I make you Judge. I wolde my Lord had good Counsell about him, for I heare of his owne nature he is well disposed. But it is neither Newdegate nor my Ladye under whose governe my lorde now resteth, that shall make me either disobey the Queenes Majesties commandment in the charge committed unto me nor yet faile those rules (my dewtye reserved, wh in nature I owe my niece), albeit that Newdegate hath perswaded my Lorde that if I had not ben, he had ben at the Court and at libertie ere nowe, and howe that alle I have don hath ben altogether his hinderance. But because you shall trewlye knowe what charge my lorde is and hath ben at, with my Ladie sence her cominge hither, to this daye, I have herein enclosed a trewe Inventory, besides my Ladies whole furniture of her and hers, with hangings, beddinge, Shetes, draperye and plate, for neither she nor her little boye hath one pece of plate to drincke, hete, or kepe any thinge in but of me, which though it cannot be much, yet it is as much as I have. And of the Catt there is no more to be had but the skinne, which hitherto I have thought well bestowed. However it hath ben taken hence since my wifes last beinge at the Court with you. I

learn from Hanworthe that you have ben verye plaine with Newdegate, from which tyme my Ladye hath received 20li and I heare saye she shall have beddes and shetes sent her, but as yet they be not come. And whereas my wiffe tolde you that my Ladye had nothinge to sende any frende of hers this new yeres tide, it is most trewe, for my Lady Clinton was faine to geve my wiffe a paire of silcke hose to deliver my Lady Knowles in her name, and perchance by this bill it may seeme to you that this allowance is sufficient for my Ladye this halfe yere she hath ben here. But if you knewe howe hardlye she was furnished of all thinges when she came hither, you wolde thincke it as little as maye be, and it might have pleased Newdegate as well to have tolde you of her bare cominge hither as he hath tolde you of her charge here. For he toke the Inventorye of all she had when he lefte her here, and I coold send it to you, but I am ashamed for that it was so bare. Thus desiring the continuance of your assured friendshippe, the whole howse of Pirgo from the bottom of the heartes salute you.

"From Pirgo, the xxth of January, 1563.

"By your lovyng cousin
and assured frynd to
my power,

"JOHN GREY.

"Post script.—I praye you have in remembrance that my Ladye here maye be allowed some wine either of the Queenes store or otherwise by bill of impost as it shall best seeme good unto you."

INVENTORY.

Received of my Lord sethence my coming to Pirgo in money at sundry times	xlv$^{li.}$
A black velvet to make a gown for my Lady furred with sables	x yardes.
A wrought velvet to guard the same gowne	iij yardes.
A black taffeta sarcenet to line the said gowne	iij elves.
A russet velvet to make a gowne and a kirtle for my Lady . .	xiiij yardes
Luzarnes to furre the same gowne	
Russet cipres to draw out the gowne and kirtle	v yardes.
Taffeta sarsenet to line the kirtle	one elve.
Russet fringe for the same kirtle	
Black and russet lace to the gown and kirtle	
Damask to make a night gowne for my Lady	x yardes.
Velvet to guard the same gowne	iij yardes.

Of friske velvet to make a kirtle for my Lady	iij yardes.
A crimson satin to make a petticoat for my Lady	iiij yardes.
Of baies red to line the same .	ij yardes.
A petticoat of crimson velvet .	one.
A velvet hood for my Lady . .	one.
Three pair of velvet shoes, whereof one double and the other two single	iij paire.
Two pair of velvet pantables .	ij paire.
A pointinge ribbande	ij peces.
A black silk fringe, whereof parte was to guard the aforesaid velvet kirtle	xvj yardes.
A black Spanish silk to sewe .	vi oz.
A crimson Spanish silk to sewe	one oz.
Two paire of black silk hose .	ij paire.
Of scarlet to make a petticoat .	one yarde one pt.
Of crimson velvet to guard the same petticoat	iij pts of a yarde.
Black cloth to make a cloke .	ij yardes.
Baies black to line the same cloke	ij yardes.
Rugge to beare up the sleeves of gownes	one yarde.
Of cambricke to make ruffes, plettes, carchees, and handkarchiefs	vi elves.

Of the finest linen to make clothes railes, ruffes, and other necessaries	x ells.
Of the second sort of linen to make towels, carchees, railes, and other necessaries . . .	x ells.
Of the third sort of linen to make smocks	xxj elves.
Fine sheets for my Ladye, of two breadths	ij paire.
Holland to line the bodies of garm^te^	ij elves.
Fustian to line the gownes . .	xiiij yardes.
Two cotes for Mr. Thomas, whereof the one russet damask, the other of crimson velvet .	ij.
Of white cloth to make him petticoats	ij yardes.
Of red cloth to make him like petticoats	ij yardes.
Velvet caps for him	ij.
A russet taffeta hat for Mr. Thomas, laid on with silver cord	one.
Hose for him	iiij paire.
Velvet shoes for him	iiij paire.
Black thread	one bolte.
Sewing candle	one pound.

Hooks and eyes . . . . . two hundred.
Sheets for my Lady's servants . one pair.

My ladie { Silver dishes. / Silver saucers.

My Ladie of Hartfords Wekely Rate for her borde, her childe, and her folks here:—

For my Ladye her selfe.	lxvj^{s} viij^{d}	
For her Childe . . .	xiij^{s} iiij^{d}	
For her Childe's nurse .	vj^{s} viij^{d}	
For Mrs Isham . . .	vj^{s} viij^{d}	
For Mrs Woodforde . .	vj^{s} viij^{d}	
For Mrs Page	vj^{s} viij^{d}	vj$^{li.}$ xvj$^{s.}$ vii$^{d.}$
For Nowell.	v^{s}	
For Robert.	v^{s}	
For Mrs Hampton . .	vj^{s}	
For a lackye	v^{s}	
For her launder . . .		

For the widow that washeth the childe's clothes v$^{s.}$

*Lord Robert Dudley and Sir William Cecil to the Earl of Hertford.**

"After our harty comendacions to your Lord-
Forasmuch as you have bin heretofore contented to defray the charge of the Lady Katherine during the tyme she shold be in the keping of my

* State Papers, Dom., vol. xxxiv. fol. 14, MS.

Lord John her uncle: we have thought good (for that she and her traine have bin chargeable unto him and he unable to bear the same) presently to require you to send some one hither with the some of money that may discharge the same, being by estimation (as we are enformed) £114, which may be sent to Pirgo to the Lady Graye, and uppon the reckoning and accompt to be duely made, the same or so much thereof as shalbe proved due, may be payd as reason is, whereof it is needful that you make some expedition by cause the said Lady Graye (as she complayneth) can not longer endure from payment. And so we bid you farewell. At the Court the 20th of May, 1564.

"Your loving frends,

"R. DUDDELEY.

"W. CECILL."

FUNERAL EXPENSES OF KATHERINE HERTFORD.

*Queen Elizabeth to the Exchequer.**

"Elizabeth, etc. to the Treasurer and Chamberleynes of our Estchequer, greeting.—Whereas we have given order to Sir Owen Hopton, Knight, to take the care of the enterment and buriall of our cosyn the Ladie Katheryn, latelie deceased, daughter of our entierlie beloved cosyn the Ladie

* State Papers, Eliz., Dom., vol. xlvi. fol. 23, MS.

Fraunces, Duches of Suffolk. Our will and pleasure is that of our treasure in the receipt of our said estchequer, you shall deliver, or cause to be delivered, to the said Sir Owen Hopton, to be by hym emploied and paied for the fees of officers of armes, banners, scutcheons, hearse, and other thinges about the said buriall, the some of three score and tene pounds. And these our letters shal be your sufficient warrant and dischardge in that behalfe. Geven under our privy Seale at our pallace of West-end, the sixt of February, in the tenth yere of our raigne."

"Receyved of Sir Owen Hopton as followeth :*

"For the Liveryes of one heralt, 5 yards at 10s. the yard, £4; for 2 pursuyvants at arms for their liveryes, 9 yards at 13s. 6d. the yard, £6; for 4 servants to attend upon the heralt, and pursuyvants every one a yard, do.

"6 yards, at 8s. the yard, £2 8s.

"For the heralts fee, £3 6s. 8d.

"For his transportation thither and back again at 6d. a myle, £3 7s.

"For the 2 pursuyvants' fees, £4. And for the transportation of them thether and back at a myle eyther other of them, £4 9s. 8d.

* State Papers, Eliz., Dom., vol. xlvi. fol. 24, MS. The inaccuracy of the accounts must be attributed to the illegibility of the MS.

"In all, £27 6s.
"for Mr. Carter's fees."

"To painter fyrst for a great banner of armes.
"For 4 banner rolles at 30s. the peece, £6.
"For 6 dozen of pencilles furnished at 12s. the dozen, £3 12s.
"For 6 great scutcheons on past paper, £3.
"For 2 dozen of scutcheons on buckeram, 48s.
"For one dozen of small scutcheons for the valewe of 20s.
"For 2 dozen of scutcheons of paper in metall for garnishing of the house and the charge, and 6 dozen of paper scutcheons in coulers, £6 8s.
"For 5 staves and brakes of iron for the banners and banner rolles, 20s.
"In all, £25 18s."

"Sum Receyved by the officers of armes, the painter as above particularly appeareth, £13 9s.
"By me, Hugh Cotgrave,
"as herald.
"And me, Johan Hart,
"Garter Herald."

"Item, for the frame of the hearse, and for the making of the rayles, £6 8s. 4d.
"Paid to the Taylours for working of the cloth and other things upon the herse, 20s.

"Item, Geven in Almes to the poor people, £4 17s. 8d.

"Sum (. . . . .) £8 6s.

"Sum total . . . 76

"Receyved by me, Sir Owen Hopton, Knight, by warrant, out of the exchequier."

"The charges of the recepten of the Ladie Katherine, and for the borde of her and her ordinarye Servants by the space of 14 Wekes, and for other charges sithens her being in the custodie of Sir Owen Hopton, Knight, as foloweth, whereof the same Sir Owen asketh allowans.*

"Imprimis, expended at Ippswich upon the receipt of the Ladie Katherine for one supper and one dinner, for lodging and horsemeats ther £8 10

Item, for one baite at Snape when the said Lady Katherine came from Ippswich to Cokfild . . . . . „ 20

Item, for the hier of a cart for the cariage of the Stuff and Apparell of the same Ladie Katherine from Ippswich to Cokfild . . . . . „ 20

Item, geven in reward for the cooke . . . . „ 10

Item, for the dyett of the Ladie Katherine and the lords of her ordenary Servants,

* State Papers, Eliz., Dom., vol. xlvi. fol. 48, MS.

by the time and space of 14 weekes at 5s. the weeke . . . . . £70 „

Item, for the borde of the Ladie Katherine's ordenarie Servants sithens her departure by the time of 3 weekes and 4 daies, at 33s. by the weeke . . . . . 6 „

Item, for sending to London 3 times while the Ladie Katheryne was sick . . . . 3 „

Item, for 4 meales and two nights' lodging of all the morners, being to the number of 77, and for ther horsemeate during that time, besides a gret number of comers to solemnytie of the buriall . . . . . 40 „

Item, paied to one Mr. Hanns Speon for the sering and coffering of the Ladie Katherine . . . . . 6 „

Item, paid for singing men at the same funerall . . . . . „ 20

Item, paid for the watchers of the Ladie Katherine . . . . . .

Item, for the charge of Doctor Simonds and his man and his horse, at Cockfield, twice . . . . . 3 „

Item, for myne owne charge two times comynge to London . . . . . 3 „

£56 „

*Queen Elizabeth to the Exchequer.**

Elizabeth, etc., to the Treasurer and Chamberleynes of our Extchequer, greeting.—Wee will and comand you, out of our treasure within the receipt of our said Extchequer to pay or cause to be paied to Sir Owen Hopton, Knight, as well for the of oui Cousyn the Ladie Katheryne, latelie Deceased, and of her servantes whiles she was in his kepinge by our orders, and for chardges for her conveying thither. As also for money laied out by hym for her householde chardges during her sicknesse and belonging thereunto, the some of one hundreth and fortie poundes. And these our Letters shalbe your sufficiente warrante and dischardge in this behalfe. Geven under our prevey Seale, at our pallace of Westend, the tenth day of Marche, in the tenth yeare of our raigne."

6.

"Dec. 9, 1607.—Edward Seymour, of Magdalene Coll., Oxford, son of Edward Lord Beauchamp, son of Edward Earl of Hertford, to be B.A.

"William Seymour of the same Coll., younger brother to the said Edward, was admitted the same day. This William Seymour was afterwards Earl

* State Papers, Eliz., vol. xlvi. fol. 23, MS.

and Marquess of Hertford, Chancellor of this University, and at length Duke of Somerset. He died 24 Oct. 1660."*

7.

Price Paid to the Messenger to Petie,†
20th June, 1611.

"More to him being sent, by command of the Lord Treasurer with proclamations concerning William Seymour and the Lady Arbella to the High Sheriff of Kent, and to the officers of Gravesend, by general writ current, £6."

8.

The following will give a general idea of the diet of State prisoners:—

The Daily Diett of Ann Duchess of Somerset, being in the Tower.‡

"DINNER.

	d.
"Mutton stewed with potage	8
Beef, boiled . . .	8
Boiled mutton . . .	8
Veal, roast . . .	10
Capon, roast . . .	10
Conies	10

* Wood's "Fasti Ox." ii. p. 321.
† Devon's Pell Records, p. 140.
‡ Lansdowne MS. cxiii. 32.

	d.
"SUPPER.	
"Mutton and potage . .	6
Sliced beef . . .	7
Mutton, roast . . .	8
Conies	10
Larks	10
"DIVERS.	
"Bread	10
Beer	8
Wine	8

"With that the Lieutenant doth find the said Duchess all napery, plate, pewter vessels for the roasting of her meat, butter to baste the same, with divers other charges which be incident, as vinegar, mustard, various salads, and others.

"Also the Lady Page being for the most part with the said Duchess with the gentlewomen and one man attending on her, for whom is none allowance to the Lieutenant."

9.

*Sir Thomas Lake to Carlton, May 19th.**

"The Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir William Wood, was about ten dayes agon removed suddenly from his place, to the great contentment of

* State Papers, James, Dom., lxxii. fol. 146.

the prisoners. And the Countess of Shrewsbury & Lord Grey are restrayned of their liberty & made close prisoners."

10.

*Charge against Lady Shrewsbury,**

"Was, I doubt not," says Mr. Stephens, "made by Sir Francis Bacon. It is as follows:—'Your Lordships do observe the nature of this charge: My Lady of Shrewsbury, a lady wise, and that ought to know what duty requireth, is charged to have refused, and to have persisted in refusal, to answer and to be examined in a high court of state, being examined by the council table, which is a representative body of the King. The nature of the cause upon which she was examined is an essential point, which doth aggravate and increase this contempt and presumption, and therefore of necessity with that we must begin. How graciously and parent-like his Majesty used the Lady Arbella before she gave him cause of indignation, the world knoweth.

"My Lady, notwithstanding extremely ill-advised, transacted the most weighty and binding part and action of her life, which is her marriage, without acquainting his Majesty, which had been a neglect even to a mean parent; but being to our

* State Trials.

Sovereign, and she standing so near to his Majesty as she doth, and then choosing such a condition as it pleased her to choose, all parties laid together how dangerous it was, my Lady might have read it in the fortune of that house wherewith she is matched; for it was not unlike the case of Seymour's grandmother.

"The King nevertheless so remembered he was a King as he forgot not he was a kinsman, and placed her only *sub libera custodia*.

"But now did my Lady accumulate and heap up this offence with a far greater than the former, by seeking to withdraw herself out of the King's power into foreign parts. That this flight or escape into foreign parts might have been seed of trouble to this State, in a matter whereof the conceit of a vulgar person is not uncapable. For although my Lady should have put on a mind to continue her loyalty, as nature and duty did bind her, yet when she was in another sphere, she must have moved in the motion of that orb, and not of the planet itself; and God forbid the King's felicity should be so little, as he should not have envy and enviers enough in foreign parts.

"It is true, if any foreigner had wrought upon this occasion, I do not doubt but the intent would have been, as the prophet saith, *They have conceived mischief and brought forth a vain thing.* But your

Lordships know that it is wisdom in princes, and it is a watch they owe to themselves and to their people to stop the beginning of evils, and not to despise them. Seneca saith well, '*Non jam amplius levia sunt pericula si levia videantur,*' Dangers cease to be light, because by despising they grow and gather strength."

11.

"March 11. The Lady Arbella hath been dangerously sick of convulsions, and is now said to be distracted, which, if it be so, comes well to pass for somebody she hath nearly touched."*

12.

ARABELLA'S EMBALMMENT.

"By order dated 12th of October, 1615.—To Duncan Primrose, one of his Majesty's Surgeons, the sum of £6 13s. 4d., for charges disbursed about the embalming of the body of the late Lady Arbella, appearing by his bill of particulars, subscribed and allowed by us.

"By writ, dated 25th of July, 1616."†

1615.

"The Lady Arbella, daughter to Charles, Earl of Lennox, and wife to Wm. Seymore, grandchild to

* Chamberlayne's Letters.

† Devon's Pell Records.

the Earl of Hartford, was buried neere Henry, Prince of Wales, Sep. 27."*

THE BURIAL PLACE OF ARABELLA STUART.

"On the north side of this royal chapel is another very large vault, wherein are deposited these following persons:—Next to the north wall of this vault lies the corpse of the Lady Arabella Stuart, only daughter and heiress to Charles, Earl of *Leoenox*, by the daughter of Sir William Cavendish, Knight, and Cousin German to King James I. Her coffin is much shattered and broken, so that the skull and body may be seen.

"Upon the coffin of this Lady stands the leaden chest which contains the body of Mary, Queen of Scots."†

13.

PORTRAITS OF LADY ARABELLA STUART.

Besides those described in the text, numerous miniatures are in existence. The following have come under my own eye:—

1. A miniature by Olliver. In this Arabella is represented with oval face, beautiful features, especially the nose, blue eyes, arched eyebrows, a white

* From the Register of Burials in Westminster Abbey.

† Crull's "Antiquities of St. Peter, Westminster," 1711.

skin, and long fair curling hair. Her hand, which was spoken of at the time of her capture as "marvellous faire and white," fully confirms this opinion. Her dress is white satin embroidered with blue and red flowers with gold stems and green leaves. The dress is open, according to the fashion for unmarried ladies, but a small close ruff of lace encircles her neck. Around her falls a crimson mantle edged with swansdown and embroidered with blue and gold flowers. Her ornaments consist of bracelets of pearl and emerald, a pearl in one ear, and a narrow black ribbon in the other, and a black silk watch-guard round her neck. This miniature was purchased at the sale at Strawberry Hill, and is now in possession of George Digby Wingfield Digby, Esq., of Sherborne Castle, who has kindly allowed it to be engraved for the present work.

2. A miniature by Olliver. Represents her as young, blue eyed, soft and fair, with rippled fair hair turned back and flowing over her shoulders. Her dress is white satin embroidered with gold stalks and green leaves, with a lace tucker in front and small fan ruff at the back. Ornaments—A black silk watch-guard, and earrings in the form of a black anchor studded with gold.

In the possession of Lord Aveland.

3. A miniature by Hilliard. Here she appears

with *brown* eyes, light brown hair, drawn up very high in a tower, and finished off with stiff little curls, crowned with a small coronet, very much like the portraits of Queen Elizabeth. She wears a white dress, made in plaits and trimmed with gold chains. A very large ruff covers her neck.

In the possession of —— Hollingworth, Esq.

4. A miniature by Olliver, very similar to the above, except that the eyes are *blue* eyes, and darker hair. A fan cambric ruff, edged with deep lace, overshadows a black dress, studded with jewels. She wears a jet necklace.

In the possession of the Hon. William Ashley.

5. The artist unknown. A miniature, with rippled fair hair flowing over her shoulders. Her dress black embroidered with gold, a lace tucker falls over in Vandykes. Ornaments—A pearl necklace of three rows, pearl hoops in her ears, and pearls placed at intervals about her hair.

In the possession of R. G. Clarke, Esq.

6. A miniature by Olliver. Here we have *blue* eyes, light auburn hair, dressed in short curls, drawn high above the head. The dress is black, with a yellow cable pattern, studded with emeralds and sapphires, and edged with a gold band at the top, set with jewels. A large fan ruff stands out at the back. Ornaments—A necklace of two rows of pearls, sustaining a long jewel of emeralds and

sapphires, terminating in a pendent pear-shaped pearl, and earrings of some dark stone.

In the possession of Lord Wharncliffe.

7. A miniature, with no name of the artist. Similar to the preceding. The dress white, ornamented with diamonds and rubies, surrounding larger jewels, and is finished with a red lace tucker, edged with black. A stiff cambric ruff at the back. Ornaments—A diamond necklace and earrings and a single diamond in the hair.

In the possession of Dudley Coutts Marjoribanks, Esq.

8. A miniature by J. Hoskins. Here the eyes are *brown*, the hair fair, rippled and falling over the shoulders. The dress is of yellow and white plaid, the stripes being set with jewels, and a lace tucker falling over the front.

In the possession of Lord Fitzhardinge.

The Marquis of Bath has also a large half-length oil painting, by Van Somers, said to be Lady Arabella Stuart, but which is so totally unlike all her other portraits that it is impossible to recognise it. The face is remarkably plain; the beautiful arched eyebrows and straight nose are replaced by features of a Tartar expression, the hair is drawn up in a hard stiff tower, without curls, the dress is figured, and the only ornament is one that certainly is in favour of its authenticity. This is a

thick rope of many rows of pearls, precisely like that which adorns the portrait of Bess of Hardwick, and later on her daughter Mary—it may be the same. This remarkable and precious ornament has long vanished from the Cavendish family—it is not impossible that it was sold or pawned by the wife of Gilbert to defray the expenses of Arabella's escape, and produced the chief part of the £20,000 she was said to have provided for that occasion.

THE END.

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